SVA

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"Where Ind's enchanted Peaks arise
Around that inmost One,
Where ancient Eagles on its brink,
Vast as Archangels, gather and drink
The Sacrament of the Sun."

G. K. Chesterton, *The Ballad of the White Horse.*

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AUM

TO

THE BRAHMANA

THE GOLDEN CENSER OF THE PRAYERS OF INDIA

TO

THE KSHATRIYA

THE CONSECRATED SWORD OF HER DEFENCE

TO

THE VAISHYA

THE CUP OF HER PLENTEOUS RICHES
AND EVER OVERFLOWING CHARITIES

AND TO

THE SUDRA

THE KEEN, WIDE-INGATHERING SICKLE
OF HER BOUNTIFUL HARVESTS—

TO THESE

THE FOUR VARNA, "COLOURS," OR "CASTES"
THE ARK OF THE SOUL OF INDIA
OF THE HINDUS

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

IN TESTIMONY OF THE AFFECTION THAT
GLOWS WITHIN MY HEART FOR MY MOTHERLAND

SHRI BHARATA

AND ITS SACROSANCT PEOPLE
AND EVER MORE AND MORE FAITHFULLY
AND FERVENTLY AS MY LONG PROLONGED
PROBATIONARY DAY ON EARTH
RINGS TO EVENSONG

VIII DECEMBER, MCMXIV GEORGE BIRDWOOD

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"When all philosophies shall fail
  This word alone shall fit:
That a sage feels too small for life,
  And a fool too large for it.

"Asia and all Imperial plains
  Are too little for a fool;
But for one Man whose eyes can see
  This little island of Athelney
Is too large a land to rule."

G. K. Chesterton, *The Ballad of the White Horse.*

EDITOR'S PREFACE

DURING his long and eminently useful life Sir George Birdwood has contributed so frequently to periodical literature, to the newspaper Press, and to the transactions of various learned bodies, particularly those of the Royal Society of Arts, that the present collection does little more than illustrate the untiring activity of his mind and the wide range of his far-brought knowledge. His contributions to *The Times* alone—largely, though by no means entirely, in the form of letters to the Editor, not only over his own signature, but also under various *noms de plume*, such as "Indicopleustes," "Indophilus," "John Indigo," and "Hortus Siccus"—would easily fill several volumes such as this. He has written no less constantly for, or been interviewed on behalf of, Anglo-Indian and Indian newspapers, thereby influencing public opinion in a country which returns his reverent admiration by an affectionate devotion. Of his several books the best known are the classic *Industrial Arts of India*, the *Handbook to the Indian Section of the Paris Exhibition of* 1878, his *Catalogue of the Vegetable Products of the Presidency of Bombay*, his *Old Records of the India Office*, and the *First Letter Book of the East India Company*, edited jointly with Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E. But all these are, technically at least, official reports prepared with more or less reticence, and unlike his miscellaneous writings such as those selected for this volume, do not reveal him at his best. We find him here thinking aloud, as if in conversation with personal friends. Marked throughout by wide reading, natural eloquence, and an unfailing gift of anec-

dote, the interest of these papers is increased by frequent etymological explanations and arresting footnotes.

Sir George has written no article or letter of any length without bringing into it the praise of India, and this feature gives appropriateness to the present title of "Sva," whereby he identifies himself with the land of his birth (at Belgaum, in the Southern Mahratta Country, on 8th December, 1832), to which, like his father before him, he has devoted a life of whole-hearted service. Not the least of Sir George's contributions to the mutual understanding between Great Britain and her Eastern Empire has been his generous readiness to place his pen at the disposal of helpful literary enterprises connected with India, without thought of fee or reward. Many a new and promising writer has owed more of his or her initial introduction to authorship to his advice and help than to any other aid. To a great number of books he has contributed introductions or other features, full of interest and instruction.

Several of the articles herein collected originated in this way, and I have to acknowledge with hearty thanks the ready permission of their publishers to reproduce such contributions—that of Messrs. Longmans for the article on "Aryan Flora and Fauna," originally given in the Appendices to Max-Müller's *Biography of Words* (Collected Works, Vol. IX, 1905); that of Messrs. Smith, Elder, in respect to Sir George's preface to Miss Gabrielle Festing's *From the Land of Princes* (1904), the first of a series of charming historical works from her pen; and that of Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., in respect to Sir George's large share in the preface to Sir Louis Pelly's and Sir Arthur N. Wollaston's *Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain* (1879),—as quoted at some length in Hughes's valuable *Dictionary of Islam*, issued by the same publishers in 1885. Acknowledgments are also due to the proprietors of *The Times* for permission to use the articles

on "The South-West Monsoon" and "A Sunset on Matheran," first contributed to that great journal, and also some recent letters on "Indian Unrest." Sir George was a most valued contributor to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in its earlier years, and I have to thank the Editor of what is now the *Asiatic Review* for permission to use several articles, including one of the most highly prized of Sir George's writings, "The Mahratta Plough"—a classic revelation of intimate and discerning acquaintance with the simple life of the Indian cultivator.

I have not attempted to set forth the complete bibliography of this series of papers, or always to give the dates of their original appearance, for the reason that several of them have undergone considerable amplification in detail or other revision since they were first published. Not infrequently such revision has been required on account of suggestions made in them in their original form having borne fruit. For instance, Sir George Birdwood's remonstrance in "The Mahratta Plough" when first published a quarter of a century ago on the neglected state of Shivaji's grave on the top of Rajgar, and his glowing tribute to his patriotism and military genius, led the Mahrattas not only to remove this reproach, but in other ways to honour the memory of their great national hero. Similarly, Sir George's vigorous denunciations of the secular basis of our system of State education in India, forcibly re-stated in these pages, have deeply impressed many of her most thoughtful sons. The Chief of Ichalkaranji, a cultured and clear-sighted Mahratta Brahman, lately supported the demand for religious education at a school prize distribution by Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, and discusses it in detail in his recently published *Impressions of British Life and Character*.

The papers now given represent not only the earlier enthusiasms, but also the later judgment, one may almost say the final verdict, of their author. In reading

them it must be remembered that while clinging to the traditional life of India, recognising its marvellous vitality and interpreting it to the Western mind with a sympathy and knowledge which no contemporary English writer has equalled, Sir George has kept himself informed of the manifold external changes wrought, since the days of his youth, by British rule and the impact of Western civilisation. The great charm of the collection is that it mirrors with so much freshness, vivacity, and insight the inner life and thoughts and feelings of the people. With some of his conclusions many of us may be unable to concur; but all his readers, and particularly his Indian fellow-subjects, will keenly appreciate the spirit of earnest and affectionate regard for India's welfare by which they are inspired.

F. H. Brown.

New Year's Day, 1915.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

SVA, the Sanskrit *sva* or *swa*, often abbreviated to *su*, in the neuter *svam* or *swam*, in dialect *som* [compare the Latin *suus* or *sus*, *sua* or *sa*, and *suum* or *sum*] means "his," "her," or "its-self"; and is found in such words as *Svami*, "Lord," in virtue of one's self-possessed being, and power; also any "Owner," or "Master" of inherent right; and is used in its fullest meaning as a title of all the gods, and their ministering Brahmans, and in the feminine form *Svamini*, "Ladyship," of the wives of the Brahmans, and also of the dancing girls [*deva-dasi*, "holy-servants," compare the ἱξεόδουλοι of Aphrodite at Corinth] of the temples of "the Lord Siva," and "the Lord Vishnu"; *Svayam-bhu*, "the Self-existing," a title of "the Lord Siva"; *Svayam-bhu Lingam*, the designation of all naturally phallomorphic rocks, as distinguished from rocks and stones artificially so figured, as idols of "the Lord Siva"; *Svyam-Prakasha*, "Self-giving-Light" and "Science," a title of Supreme Deity; *Svadha*, "Self-contained," applied to the material and visible "Kosmos," or *Prakriti* [*pra*, in Latin *per*, an intensive prefix, and *kri*, "to create," "to do," etc.], the *Sakti* female or reproductive energy of Nature [otherwise called *Maya*, "Illusion," "Mirage"], the complement of the male or generative energy, the One eternally self-existing and infinite God above all gods; *sva-rupam*, "one's own image," as the idol of a god [compare *rupiya*, "rupee," an Indian silver coin, struck with the "own-image," or the symbol, of the ruler issuing it], also one's own lands, moneys, etc.; *svai*, "possessing," "reigning," of one's own inborn right; *svamityam*, "lordship," "mastership,"

etc.; *svatva*, "ownership" of any kind; *sva-karma*, "one's own business," "work," "doing," "job"; *svambhogam*, "the enjoyment of one's own rights," "possessions," etc.; *svayamvara*, a Hindu princess's "own" public choice [out of a number of selected candidates] of a husband, as Draupadi's of the bright Arjuna, described in the *Mahabharata; sva-desha*, "one's own country," and, formed from it in recent years, with the meaning of "patriotism," *sva-deshi; sva-raj*, "one's own kingdom"; and *Svamimara*, in dialect *Soimida*, the "Lordly-tree," "the Bastard Cedar" of Anglo-Indians, and *Soymida febrifuga* of botanists, a lofty evergreen foliaged [its young leaves appear before the old ones fall] Meliaceous tree of the forests of Central India: after the towering contour of which I have figured my "Dedication."

"SVA," here, implies that these pages are, so far as they go, part and parcel of myself, being a selection from a series of "stocktakings" of the facts of human history that in the course of a long and all-absorbingly studious life have most deeply pervaded and impressed me; and of the views and opinions thereon which, in the process of repeated reconsideration, I have more or less judgmatically matured; not for the sake of others, or not primarily, but for the purpose of bringing my imperfect knowledge and insight of them periodically "to book"; and for mine own especial correction, reproof, and profit in self-realisation; thus, to the best of my humble ability, persistently pressing forward to the ever "upward calling" of our Creator to all His creatures:—

"O God of Science and of Light!"

Elsewise, I have no part, nor lot, in "SVA." During the past twenty years I have several times been invited to permit of the reproduction of some of my casual writings [from the first to the last, all published at the suggestion of others] but under conditions I could not accept.

Two years ago I myself became solicitous to reproduce a collection of them, but not obtaining the co-operation of the firm I approached for the purpose I definitely dismissed the inadvertent ambition from my mind. Then, on the eve of the sudden, albeit long-portended outbreak of this fratricidal war between the noblest nations of Christendom, Mr. Lee-Warner, publisher to the Medici Society, expressed to me the most earnest desire to bring out a collection of my writings, just as I might be pleased to pick and choose them. At first I denied him, as by weight of years, I had meanwhile rapidly become incapable of correcting proofs; and yet more decidedly because he is the son of his eminent father, the late Sir William Lee-Warner, G.C.S.I., who with Lord Elphinstone [John, thirteenth Baron] and Sir George Russell Clerk, "George Clerk of Umballa," and Sir Bartle Frere, had all their lives been "my gracious patrons, and most cherished honour."

The papers I had ear-marked for reproduction are precious to myself as a record of my progressively wider and clearer "open vision" of the future of enchanted India; and I feared therefore that they might be taken by "the stay-at-home people" of England [in whose ears even the incomprehensible war now raging across the Channel strikes but as idle echoes from far-distant mountains] for a "sealed book": "Which when men deliver to one that is learned, saying, 'Read this, I pray thee,' he sayeth, 'I cannot, for it is sealed'; and the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, 'Read this, I pray thee,' and he sayeth, 'I am not learned'"; and I could not tolerate the thought of the like qualification of this volume by the booksellers of Ave Maria Lane, Creed Lane, Paternoster Row, and Amen Corner, from ancientest pagan [with Lud and Apollo] and earliest Christian [St. Paul] associations, the most sacred heart of London; and to-day the centre of the book-trade of the whole British Empire.

But finding the publishers resolute in their proposal, " will I nil I," I agreed to accept it, provided my friend, Mr. Frank Herbert Brown, Fellow of the Institute of Journalists, and one of the best informed and soundest-minded of living publicists on Indian affairs, edited the volume. I am responsible only for the selection of the papers, and their division into twelve parts, and other less observable observances of the ritual of lucky numbers; and for the wrong spelling, here and there, that has become familiar to us of Indian place-names; and for the back of the binding of the book being stamped with " the right-hand-going " *svastika* or *swastika*, as, at least for me, a worshipful and inspiring foretoken or prediction of the ultimate triumph of integrity and righteousness, at " this extant moment " when Europe, no longer " Christendom," lies prostrated in guiltiest shed blood, under a Divine Dispensation of Apocalyptic terrors and astoundments. Do I say Divine? " Shall there be evil . . . and the Lord hath not done it ? " Whose oftentimes most dreaded instrument

> " In working out a pure intent
> Is man, arrayed for mutual slaughter :
> Yea, Carnage is his Daughter."

The conclusions to which I have come from my study of our relations with India are, that conquest, for the sake of mere conquest, is not only morally wrong, but materially unprofitable; and only to be justified, if at all, when necessary for the maintenance of commerce with a country rich in its natural resources, and still richer in the industrial and mercantile aptitudes of a people, who, while anxious to trade with other people, are incapable of safeguarding themselves against anarchy within, or subversive invasions from without their borders. Our own purpose in India has obviously been to secure to the United Kingdom—that is, originally to the Honourable East India Company—an absolute freedom of trade with the

East Indies; and provided we could enjoy that trade in full assurance of uninterrupted quietness and good fortune, it would, from a business point of view, be absurd to waste our resources of money and men in defending India whether against the external or the internal enemies to her peace and well-being. As, however, in the course of Providence, we have been placed in the position of the Paramount Power throughout India, it does seem to me to behove us well to consider what may be the "counsel of God" in having permitted us to saddle the staggering burden of so weighty and perilous a responsibility on our own sturdy and stubborn shoulders.

We dare not dogmatise on so elusive a question. Yet, there must be something, beyond the satisfaction of our own sordid and selfish purposes, in the fact of India having been ensured, for now 157 years, against relapsing into the wild anarchy of the thousand years from A.D. 711 to 1757; during which mad millennium—let Englishmen never forget—the domestic, and social, and religious life of outraged India was kept intact simply by virtue of the all-conserving, all-healing virtue of the Brahmanical Caste System, as stereotyped in the Code of Manu, and similar Hindu Law Books. The protection of the peace and prosperity of the vast and far-stretched fertile and populous tropical and sub-tropical Peninsula, may well be presumed therefore to have been imposed upon us, and as a most sacred duty, by a will above our own will; and, quite apart from our own profit therein, for the greater profit of India. India has done everything for us, everything that has made these islands, as insignificant on the face of the globe as the islands that make up Japan [placed symmetrically with our own on the other side of the Eur-Asian Continent], the greatest Empire the world has ever known, and for this we owe undying gratitude to India. Nevertheless, I have no intellectual certitude of its being binding on us

to go out of the cut-and-dry ruts of our daily duty as the protectors and administrators of India, to seek any other end therein than the satisfaction of our own covetous and grasping needs. It is only of moral conviction, or, so to say, of religious inspiration, that I feel it incumbent upon us, that, being in India for our own advantage, we should also seek in every way, to the utmost of our power, and as a consecrated service, to subserve her material and moral advantage.

Misfortunately, whenever we have attempted to do so, we have too often done more evil than good; as in the destruction of the idiosyncratic handicraft arts of India by the teaching of our English Schools of Art; and worst of all, in the undermining of the religious beliefs of the Hindus through the atheistical, indeed the antitheistical influences of our system of Public Instruction in India. Should we proceed further with this Anglicising programme, and, in our ignorance of the true character and aspirations of the Hindus, and meticulous subservience to home-bred proselytising philanthropists, foist on India any instalments of self-government, after the model of our indigenous methods of "party government," the end of all things will at once be at hand, alike for the Muslims and Hindus of India, and for the United Kingdom as the tutelary of the Indian Empire. That would probably be to our own exceeding gain, but it would certainly be utter and irremediable ruination [*satyanas*] for India. The British administration of that country must, for at least the next three or four generations [100 to 120 years] be loyally entrusted as heretofore, to the ablest and wisest men at our command in the United Kingdom and in India, men at once sympathetic and level-headed, who would masterfully regulate every tentative taken by us to endow India with self-government; the consummation to which we all desire, stage by stage, slowly and surely, "Deo adjuvante," to upraise her.

As for " the Unrest in India," of which so much has recently been heard, its originating cause is the physiological fact that the population of an old, well-ordered, and prosperous country, invariably tends, in spite of warnings such as Thomas Malthus and Charles Bradlaugh uttered, to outrun the means for its maintenance. This pressure of the population of British India on the resources of the country is greatly aggravated by the reduction, under our benevolent rule, of the virulence of endemic plague, the frequency of famines, and of epidemics of cholera and small-pox, by the treatment of malarial fever with quinine, by the abolition of female infanticide, widow-burning, and other ritualistic murders, and by the long-settled, stable, and uniform administration of the whole, wide, outstretched peninsula.

Of the predisposing cause of " the Unrest," the most active is the higher education, administered directly by the Government, for the training of medical men, lawyers, and literates—a training that unfits the greater number of them for any duly remunerative means of livelihood in India ; and which undermines the faith of the Hindu students in their own hereditary religion, without substituting [save in the schools of the Catholic Roman Church] any other in its place.

The direct exciting causes of " the Unrest " are the ever-increasing number of Europeans of no education, and strong race-prejudices, who seek a living in India outside the Government Services, and of educated Englishmen both in the Service of Government, and outside it, who knowing little of the profound spiritual culture of the Hindus, and the Muslims, are over-zealous to impose our European culture upon them, not as a supplementary accomplishment, but in supersession of their own traditional learning, literatures, arts, and religions. Again, there is the closing of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, and the Dominion of Canada against

Indian immigrants. But the most potent exciting cause—in its ubiquity, subtlety, and energy—of "the Unrest," is the alienation from our rule of the priestly caste of Brahmans, to conciliate whom should be the abiding solicitude, not only of the Government of India, but of every individual Englishman in the country.

The *Sudras* and the *Vaishyas*, or the agrarian and industrial, and the commercial castes of India are perfectly indifferent as to who governs the country, Hindus, Muslims, English, Russians, or Australian and South African English, so they themselves be left to sow and reap, and otherwise earn their daily bread in sooth of soul;[1] but the Brahmans are the gods and saviours of their souls. The Rajputs, and other *Kshatriyas* and reigning Princes, are loyal from the ground of their hearts toward us, forasmuch as they have now reigned for a hundred years, in unclouded sunshine, under the ægis of England, as the paramount power in India; but the paramount power over their souls also are the Brahmans; and they deserve to be, for verily they are the only authentic and authoritative

[1] Whether in the fields of Central India and the Southern Mahratta country, or in the *bazaars* of Poona and Bombay, the invariable reply of the men of these two castes to me when I questioned them on any political matters that happened to be under discussion in the Native Indian Press, was in the identical spirit, and almost in the identical words of Yeshua ["Jesus"] ben Sira in Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII. 24–38: "Every one is wise in his own work. . . . We [*Sudras and Vaishyas*] maintain the state of the world. . . . Without us no city can be inhabited. . . . But it is not for us to be sought for in public counsel, nor to sit on the judges' seat, nor to speak in parables. . . . Such wisdom cometh by opportunity of leisure! . . . How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough . . . and whose talk is of bullocks, and his mind in his furrows . . . and is diligent to give the kine fodder? So the carpenter . . . the smith, the potter, [the weaver] . . . all these can only be wise each in his own handwork; and all our desire is in the work of our craft." The Europeans who know the peoples of India best are our Civil Servants and the Christian missionaries, and first of these last, the missionaries of the Catholic Roman Church. Next to them I must place our Medical Officers, for the Hindus, after their priest, most honour their physician:—"for the Lord hath created him" [Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII. 1–8]. They "cotton to" Scots and Irish far more readily than to the English.

depositaries and wardens of the Covenant of God with India—India of the Hindus.

Were I responsible for the government of India, I would at once place the Educational Department wholly in the hands of duly qualified Hindus, Muslims, and Parsis; the Judicial Department three-fourths in their hands; and I would freely admit the Rajputs, and members of the other ruling classes and warrior castes, into the higher commissions of the Imperial British Army, up to one-third of the number of officers required: and above all else, I would insist on developing, without let or stint, the illimitable reproductive resources of the country *pari passu* with the European education of its people. This beneficent policy, *inter alia*, would indefinitely postpone any inclination on the part of the latter to emigrate to our hostile democratic Colonies.

In the crisis of the physical and spiritual agony of the death struggle between militarism and nationalism now proceeding in wrack and ruin throughout Europe, it is impossible to avoid comparing the Rajput ideal of the conduct of war with that of the Germans. In principle they are identical, and thoroughly virile, and only in their application are the differences between them to be found; and henceforth, to the eternal defamation of the virility of the hitherto incomparably masculine Allemanian [" Matchless-men "] tribes of the Western Aryas. There must be wars, and in the earlier stages of the evolution of humanity from savagery to barbarism, and thence on to semi-barbarism and civilisation, brutal and brutalising warfaring. There was war in Heaven; Michael and his angels, against the Dragon and his angels, the worshippers among all kingdoms, and tongues, and nations of the Beast; and, many a time, with their antitypes, it is difficult to discriminate between the hosts of the Beast and those of the Archangel; for they are not all black, and all white, respectively, as

are, so microscopists say, the black and white bacilli that keep mankind sound and sane by the ceaseless lictoring of each other's backs! "All things are double," writes "The Son of Sirach" [Ecclesiasticus XLII. 24], "*one against another;* and He hath made nothing unperfect."

The whole infinite frame of material Nature is the daily, hourly, and momentary issue of the eternal conflict of "hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce . . ." for mastery. Indeed, antagonism—obdurate, inebranlable antagonism—would seem to be the prerequisite of all spiritual as of all physical perfection. In the instance of mankind, the struggle for existence—for a livelihood—takes its earliest forms in cannibalism, and the trade in slaves; and trade and commerce, as carried on between semi-civilised and civilised nations, are but less barbarous forms of murderous warfare; which, under specious outward appearances, present "behind the scenes" the ever expanding prospect of failures, deadlier and more persistent in their consequences than the bloodiest foughten battlefields.[1] The Spanish Inquisition, the driving force of which was the passion to save souls, and the massacre and sack of Drogheda by Oliver Cromwell [who gave us "the Act of Navigation, 1651, as one of the results of the commercial success of the "Old India Company"], are salient illustrations of the fact that whenever the fervour of the heart upsets the even balance of the mind, spiritual warfare may become as irrational and as demoniacal as the worst besotted, hideous butcheries of Hottentots and Huns.

Similarly the Germans under the infection of psychical frenzy have erred in prosecuting the present war by methods violating all the dictates of reason, and senti-

[1] It is notable how many words describing traders have gradually come to bear a sinister significance, as "adventurer," "huckster," "swindler." In Ecclesiasticus XXVII. 29, we read: "A merchant shall hardly keep himself from wrong doing; nor a huckster free from sin."

ments of humanity, and teachings of religion, as recognised by the Aryan races from the beginnings of their recorded histories in Persia and India, and in Europe; in attestation of which quotations might be made from Greek and Roman writers [Plato, Polybius, Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, Catullus, Livy, Ovid, Plutarch, and the Christian Latin poet Ausonius] that would fill a small volume. Here I will refer to but three of such passages. The first is in Plutarch, "M. Furius Camillus," where he says: "War at the best is but a savage resource . . . yet it has its conventions, observed by all men of honour, who seek victory by valour and skill, and not by villainy." The other two are both in Polybius: (1) V. 11—"The taking and demolishing of an enemy's forts, harbours, cities, men, ships, and crops . . . are necessary acts; to deface temples, statues, and such-like erections, in pure wantonness; and without any prospect of strengthening oneself, or weakening the enemy, must be regarded as an act of blind passion and insanity"; and (2) V. 12—"In truth to conquer one's enemies in integrity and equity is not of less, but of greater practical advantage than victories in the field. In the one case the defeated yield under compulsion, in the other with cheerful assent." These chapters, in the late Evelyn Shuckburgh's vivid translation of Polybius [Macmillan, 1887] ought to be quoted at full length in every "handbook" published for the use of our young naval and military officers.

The teaching of the Christian "Gospels" is inferentially the same. Paley, in his *Moral and Political Philosophy*, writes: "Although the origin of wars be ascribed in Scripture to the operation of lawless and malignant passions, and though war itself be enumerated amongst the sorest of calamities with which a land can be visited, the profession of a soldier is nowhere forbidden or condemned." John the Baptist, when asked by the Roman soldiers (Luke III. 14), "What shall we do then [to be saved]?"

replied : " Do violence to no man, neither accuse falsely, and be content with your wages." In Luke vii. 9, the Lord Christ says of the Roman centurion : " I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel "; and in Acts x. 1–2, Cornelius the centurion is described as : " A devout man and one that feared God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people ; and prayed to God alway."

The " Sermon on the Mount," in its two versions [Matthew v.–vii. and Luke vi. 20–49], in no way militates against the manifest deduction from these three texts ; but the point in regard to it is that it is now regarded as a late interpolation, inspired by the impracticable ideals of Buddhism,—which abounds with the idle counsels of perfection that were in wide vogue over all Southern and Western Asia between 250 B.C. and A.D. 250. They are the ideals of the pessimistic Turanian and not of the optimistic Aryan races, and the honest and frank acceptance of them always has meant, and always will mean individual and racial suicide. When I was last in India [1854–69–70] there were to be found in all the greater bazaars of the Carnatic, stray bronzes, and everywhere the work of the same deft hand delightfully figuring infantry, cavalry, artillery, camelry, and elephantry, through the whole gamut of military swagger in man and beast. I drew the first attention to them, here in England, in my *Industrial Arts of India* [Science and Art Department, 1881], p. 162, plates 20–6 ; and " cheap as dirt " at that time, they are now priceless. They originated, so the tale was told to me, with a warlike petty prince of Southern India, who in the earlier half of his reign annexed some of the smaller principalities neighbouring his own, which at last became quite a little kingdom. He then fell under the influence of a new Dewan, a Brahman indeed, in whom there was no guile, who gradually succeeded in convincing his royal master of the wickedness of war, and in per-

suading him to disband his army of alive men, and substitute for it these inimitable " figures of fun " wherewith innocently to indulge his royal pleasure in " the game of war." The results were the speedy recovery by the conquered princes of their independence, and the scattering of the brave brazen army of their erstwhile overlord to the four wild wandering winds of Vayu. " The Twelve Good Rules " of Conduct said to have been formulated by our pious-hearted and elegant-minded King Charles I, in likewise proved for him—if, indeed, he followed them—but a " Royal Game of Goose." The " Bhagavat-Gita " [" The Song of the Divine One "] is another forgery of the period of the supremacy of Buddhism in India, put into the mouth of the Lord Krishna, where, in the great Hindu epic of the *Mahabharata*, he stands between the armies of his opposed cousins, the Pandavas and Kauravas, pleading for peace between them; but all to no purpose with those self-possessed, determined, strong-willed, true-born Aryas. The only influence of the " Sermon on the Mount " on ourselves has been, over and over again, in leading us on and on, up to the very last, into sincere expressions of our desire to preserve peace, when we ought to have known from the first that " the enemy " had already decided on war; thus giving him the opportunity of protesting, with more or less plausibility, that we had betrayed him into war; as in the case of the present fateful war, stamped, as we all now know it to be, with the authentic and imperishable brand of—" Made in Germany."[1]

[1] See "The Hohenzollerns," by Francis Henry Skrine, late I.C.S., *Royal United Service Magazine*, November, 1914. The German Emperor, William II, King of Prussia, has not only been tutored in his fatuous international policy by the teachings of Frederick the Great, and Lorenz Oken, and the Menzels, long before Bernhardi was heard of, but encouraged in it by our own cowardice in the betrayal of Denmark to Russia and Austria in 1864; the desertion of France in 1870; the surrender of Heligoland to Germany in 1890; and by our repeated refusals during the past decade to sufficiently increase our Navy, and provide an

There is one convention of war, as of all human rivalries, common to Israel, and the Greeks and Romans, and the Rajputs, and to Islam, as also to Christendom—until to-day Christendom has become Christless: "Never to speak evil of an enemy." The worldly wisdom of it is as pronounced as its natural piety. It was one of the finest traits in the character of the Duke of Wellington: "Who never spoke against a foe." Rudyard Kipling gives expression to it ["The Seven Seas"] with an Agnikula Rajput's spontaneity and intensity of feeling:—

"Ah! Mary, pierced with sorrow,
Remember, reach, and save
The Soul that comes to-morrow
Before the God that gave;
Since each was born of woman,
For each in utter need—
True Comrade and true Foeman—
Madonna, intercede!"

Of whatever iniquities the German Emperor may have been guilty in the inception of this most foul and infamous war, the curses of it will in due time return to raven and rave within his own self-loathing breast. He would seem to be ignorant of the maxims of one of the most notable of his own ancestors:—

"Malheur aux apprentifs dont les sens égarés,
Veulent, sans s'applique, franchir tous les degrés.
Téméraires, craignez le sort qui vous menace;
Phaéton périt seul par sa funeste audace."

But he reads the Bible, and in Luther's divinely inspired translation, and must well know [Proverbs VI. 16–17]: "The six things . . . yea seven,[1] that the Lord

army adequate to the defence of the United Kingdom against the present war on us; of which we have for the past twenty years been forewarned with ingenuous iteration by the Prussians and Prussianised Germans themselves!

[1] I recently read this passage, copied into her Prayer Book, in her

doth hate"; and that whosoever fulfils these abominations, becomes accurst in his own eyes, as well as of God. Constituted as the world is: "It must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If the recognition of this retributive and reparative reaction of sin against itself, inherent in all sin, does not quicken our sense alike of pagan and of Christian chivalry, or at least our innate sense of personal dignity, the story [II. Esdras xi. and xii.] of the many-headed Eagle, and the bold Lion [Proverbs xxxviii. 1] that rebuked and destroyed the mighty bird of prey, should serve to recover for us something of the normal equanimity of our temporarily overstrained minds. In any case we have to abide the patience of God. This war is certainly not to be a triumphant march, in "the Goose-step" of the pampered Prætorians of Potsdam, over the truth and justice of Heaven; and, beyond question, it will prove to be for the confirmation of the all-sustaining, all-saving Faith of mankind, of every clime, and colour, and creed, that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, and that the love of God passeth all things for illumination.

The *Swastika* or *Svastika*, the Hindu symbol of blessing and blessedness, was first brought to notice in this country in Edward Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* [1810], and next in Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* [1856], and James Fergusson's *History of Architecture in all Countries* [1865–67]. I reproduced Moor's plate M, 1–74, of "Sectarial

own handwriting, by Queen Caroline, whose application of it was obvious. Compare:—

"A wise man living like a drone; an old man not devout;
Youth disobedient; rich men that are Charitie without;
A shameless woman; vicious Lords; a poore man proudly stout;
Contentious Christians; pastors that their functions do neglect;
A wicked King; no Discipline; no Lawes men to direct;
Are Twelve the Foulest Faults that most all Common-wealths infect."
William Warner, *Albion's England*, 1586.

Compare also Ecclesiasticus xxv. 2, and xxvi. 5 and 28.

Marks" in my *Industrial Arts of India* [1880]; but it was the illustration of a leaden figure of the Goddess Nana, "The Lady," stamped with the left-handed *svastika*, as a mark of the sinister sex, in Schliemann's *Troy* [1883], which first popularised the knowledge of it among ourselves, and on the Continent and in the Americas. Subsequently the subject of its abeternal and universal usage was discussed by F. Max-Müller, and myself, in *The Athenæum* and *The Times;* and again in the English translation, edited by me, of Count Goblet d'Alviella's "epoch making" work, *The Migration of Symbols* [1891]; while I gave a full and detailed account of the history and significance of the symbol, in both its right-handed and left-handed forms, in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* of March 8, 1912.

The word *Svastika* is Sanskrit; and composed of the words *svasti*, "well-faring," and *tika*, "ticket," "mark," "sign," "token," etc.; the word *svasti* being composed of the Sanskrit equivalent of the Latin *esto*, "be thou," "let him be," and *su*, "good"; as found in *svarna*, literally "good-colour," and the Sanskrit name for "gold"; *subandu*, literally "well-bound (together)," "good friend," the Sanskrit name of *Costus speciosus; sushena*, "beautiful clusters," the name of *Carissa Carandas; sugandha*, "fragrant," *Alpinia Galanga;* and so on and so on, in the names of a hundred more good things.

Any house facing the East is a *Svastika;* and *svasthya* are the freehold lands held in their villages by the Brahmans. In short, the *Svastika* is with you in whatsoever you do and whithersoever you turn in India; and enters into the whole scheme of the sacramental life of the Hindus in the same intimate and welcome way as the *Chaurasi*, or number 84; the number of the 12 signs of the Zodiac, multiplied by the number of the 7 planets; in other words, the multiple of the number of the 7 days of the week, by that of the 12 months of the year; and

again, the multiples of 84 by 7, and 12, and 84, are all *Chaurasis*. The all-comforting plenipotency of the *Chaurasi*, and the explanation of my trust in it, lies in the Hindu belief that if you reach the eighty-fourth anniversary of your birth you are at once constituted a saint, however big a blackguard you may have been up to the eve of that day !

The monosyllable above my " Dedication "—p. vii—is the 3-lettered *tantra*, i.e. the ritualised or magical " device," AUM, representing the *mantra*, i.e. the mystical or spiritual " sound," variously pronounced—but invariably slowly and lowly, and almost inaudibly, although with an emphatically breathed musical intonation :—

	ouhm,	as in	pl*oughm*an
	om	,,	l*oam*
	aun	,,	*awn*ing
and	*on*	,,	" *on*-dit."

It is known among Hindus when lettered as the *Ekakshara*, i.e. " the One-syllable," and when uttered as the *Omkhara*, i.e. " the Sound," and whether as a *tantra* or a *mantra*, it is expressive of the most awed and adoring assurance and sense of beatitude. Differing explanations of the sanctity of " the Sound " and " the One-syllable " are given, as that it represents certain Vedic, and certain Puranic Trinities of gods ; and a whole chapter of the *Vayu-Purana* is devoted to the question. I am, however, satisfied that the syllable AUM in its first origin was simply an imitative word, like " mama," " papa," " baba " ; and imitative of the sound the mothers of numberless species of mammaleous vertebrates make when fondling their endearing offspring ; and that in India it originated, long before the Aryan settlement of the country, in the instinctive worship of " the divine Cow " by the primordial aborigines of the Peninsula. The Hebrew word " *Amen* " probably has an analagous

origin; as also our dialect words—*yam-yam*, "pleasing," and *yammer*, "to please, delight, desire." The Hindu "device" is placed at the beginning of MSS. books, and I hope, therefore, that I have been guilty of no impropriety in Hindu eyes in crowning my "Dedication" with this, their most holiest "charm."

The *Svastika* has been associated with myself through all the happiest years of my life, from infancy to boyhood, and from early to mature manhood, in India; and having in a previous paragraph stated my more serious purpose in placing it on the back of this book, I will only now add in lighter mood the expression of my hope, that its presence there may also prove auspicious for my publisher: and—

"God sende every trewe man bote of his bale."

I have said my aforesay; "And there a poynt——."

George Birdwood.

"Charter Day" [East India Company, 1600]—MCMXIV.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

George Birdwood

THE SOUTH-WEST MONSOON

I

Its Mechanism

OUR terraqueous globe is wrapped in a layer of air about 40 miles high. This air is chiefly a mechanical mixture of nitrogen and oxygen gases, but is also the recipient of the volatile matters ever rising from the surface of the globe, and, among others, of the vapour of water in proportionally large quantity. The heat of the sun draws up the watery vapour from the seas and rivers, which while in the state of vapour remains invisible, but on cooling again takes palpable form, and falls to the earth whence it arose. It may be condensed and precipitated either by the greater cold of the higher spaces of the atmosphere, or through being traversed by a colder current of air, or from being whirled, with the revolving globe, away from the heat of the sun into the earth's cool shadow, we call the night. The cold of a clear night precipitates it as dew, or as hoar frost, which is frozen dew. A fog is caused by the condensation of the watery vapour in the air that rests directly on cold ground. A cloud is a fog high in the air, and snow is a frozen cloud congealing as it descends. Rain is caused by the gathering together of many clouds, or aerial fogs. The sun cannot dissipate them, and their moisture gradually collects in drops, that fall as rain. Hail is a shower of rain, suddenly frozen in falling. The heat of the sun also sets the atmosphere in motion, the winds blowing over the face of the earth being caused by the unequal heating of the air.

When a fire is lighted, the heated air ascends the chimney, carrying the smoke with it, and the vacuum caused in the air of the room draws to the hearth the colder outside air through every opening in the doors and windows. When a city is on fire, so great is the vacuum caused by the upward draught of heated air, that the cooler surrounding air flowing in to take its place becomes a violent wind; and so in accounts of great conflagrations we often read that the terror of the inhabitants was increased by the simultaneous hurricane. In such a fire the column of smoke as it rises into the cooler air spreads out on all sides like the branches of a palm, and gradually falls in "blacks" to the earth; and in this way bits of charred wood and paper are often brought back to a fire by the wind it has caused.

Within the tropics the sun's rays fall vertically on the air; and its heated particles, constantly rising, form a column ever moving towards the poles. To fill the vacuum thus caused, colder air from the frozen poles rushes down over the surface of the globe towards the equator; and hence result the great polar and equatorial air currents. Their direct courses between the poles and the equator are bent by the revolution of the earth on its axis; in the northern hemisphere into the north-east and in the southern hemisphere into the south-east "trade winds," or *vents alisées;* called "trade winds," not because they facilitate commerce, but because they hold a certain steady course, trend, or "tread" all round the earth. The air brought by the "trade winds" ascends to a great height in the tropics, and flows back towards the poles, in the northern hemisphere as the south-east "anti-trade," and in the southern as the north-east "anti-trade." The ascending air carries up an immense volume of watery vapour; and as the air is quite calm on or near the equator, where the trade winds meet, this vapour, on reaching the upper atmosphere, is at once precipitated

in the rains that fall within the tropics nearly all round the year.

The Assyrians 3,000 years ago anticipated Hunter's theory of the periodicity of sun spots, and understood the theory of climate, given in Ecclesiastes i. 6 :—" The wind goeth towards the south, and turneth about unto the north ; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits." Had the world remained, as, probably, at first, a waste of waters, the trade winds would have blown over it uninterruptedly, and the moisture in the air would have fallen on the earth in three continuous belts, one corresponding with the equator, and the others with the calms of Cancer and Capricorn. These calms would indeed have reached to the poles, and darkness covered the face of the deep. But the globe is divided between sea and land, and the land becomes heated more quickly than the sea, as shown by the " sea breeze," which begins to blow about noonday in the tropics ; and cools more quickly, as shown by the dangerous " land wind " which in tropical countries begins about midnight to blow over the land toward the sea. The consequence is that when the sun becomes vertical over any portion of the earth's land surface, the surrounding air is drawn to a focus there ; and in this way, in every latitude, the great primary winds and rains are broken into secondary or local winds and rains, producing the differences in nature and season of the climates prevailing over the globe. Thus the manifold climates of the world are caused by the mutual relations of its atmosphere and sea and land ; and all the changes of weather, shade and sunshine, heat and cold, calm and tempest, drought and rain, depend upon the movements the atmosphere is thrown into by the sun.

Owing to the excess of land in the northern hemisphere, the constant belt of rain where it exists between the trade winds, instead of corresponding with the equator, lies

a little to its north, and the moisture gathered by the south-east trades only falls in rain on reaching the tropic of Cancer; thus compensating the northern hemisphere for its want of evaporating (sea) surface. Similar modifications and compensations, on a smaller scale, occur in regard to each of the trades separately as the sun successively passes through the north and south ecliptic. But here we have only to consider "the Rains," or "South-West Monsoon"[1] of Western India. India stretches out into the belt of the north-east trades, and were these undeviating winds the only rain this immense, outspread peninsula would receive would be that falling from October to April during the North-East "Monsoon." The rain which then falls is not brought by this wind, for in blowing from the high lands of Eastern Asia, it absorbs but the little watery vapour lapped up in the Bay of Bengal. The great volume of rain falling on India during the North-East Monsoon, or winter rains, is really derived from the evaporation of the ocean about Australia, where during our winter months the sun is shining with all the force of midsummer. The vapour there drawn up into the higher atmosphere returns in an upper current towards India, where it is precipitated through the lower current blowing from the north-east, and furnishes the North-East Monsoon rains, on which the Indian winter crops depend.

If India received only the North-East Monsoon, she would indeed be almost as unfortunately circumstanced as the peninsula of Arabia, wedged in between the high lands of Persia and Abyssinia. But observe what actually takes place. At the vernal equinox, March 21, the sun passes from the southern hemisphere to the northern; he is first vertical over Bombay about May 15; reaches the highest point of his upward journey, or summer solstice, June 21; descending, is again vertical over Bombay about July 27; and finally, at the autumnal equinox,

[1] Monsoon = Arabic *mausim*, "season," through the Portuguese *monçáo*.

September 23, having traversed the whole tropic of Cancer, re-enters the tropic of Capricorn, and reaches his lowest southern point, or winter solstice, December 23. Between May and July he shines down furiously on the sandy plains of Sindh and Rajputana, and the great grassy plains of Central Asia, wherefrom so vast a column of heated air ascends through the atmosphere that the draught caused has the power not only to reverse completely the normal direction of the north-east trade, but even to deflect and draw the south-east trade toward India. Thus is the South-West Monsoon brought about.

This mighty wind, laden with the moisture gathered from the Indian Ocean, strikes the Malabar Coast and the Konkans at nearly right angles; and there, chilled by the cool, green, forest barrier of the ghats, pours down its condensed vapours on Western India for four months in violent rains, that are ushered in and depart with the most awful thunderstorms; and in this way the temperature of India is lowered during months that otherwise would be so hot as to make the country unendurable. The Deccan slopes eastward, having been upheaved chiefly by the eruption of the Western Ghats; and such superfluous rain as falls on them, and does not flow off in the mountain torrents of the Konkans, slowly drains off to the Bay of Bengal in the continental rivers known as the Godavery, Cauvery, Pennair and Kistna. But the ghats do not line the whole coast; they cease about Surat; and there the Sautpura and Vindhya mountains condense the clouds borne by the South-West Monsoon, and pour their waters into the Arabian Sea by the flooded Tapti and Nerbudda, the only Deccan rivers flowing westward; while from the Aravalli hills in Rajputana, the Sabarmatti flows south-westward through the fertile plains of Gujerat. The South-West Monsoon reaches to the wide plain of Hindustan, the Punjab, and Sindh; and all round the coasts of India and Southern Asia, within the influence of

the great solstitial up-draught from the deserts of Rajputana and Central Asia, we find the phenomenon of summer rains. At the very time, also, that the sun is drawing the vapours of the Indian Ocean towards the Western Ghats, his rays are melting the snows of the Himalayas and Hindu Kush, which flow down to the Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal, in the perennial streams of the ancient Indus and sacred Ganges.

The mystic Sarasvati, which once flowed through Rajputana to the sea, has long ages ago disappeared through the desiccating action of the summer solstice, or "standing still" of the sun over that country between May and July. The evaporation of this river of Hindu poetry is a proof of how little unphilosophical political agitators take into account the play of natural climatic forces in India. We have traced the course of the sun through Cancer and Capricorn, and it will have been observed that he shines vertically twice as long over his "turning points" as over any other part of his ecliptic course. He appears to stand still over these points—hence named the summer and winter solstices; and so it happens that all the lands lying about the 23rd degree north and south of the equator, under these sun "stations" are desert lands. This is clearly seen in the northern hemisphere, where there is so much land, in the deserts of Rajputana, Sindh, Baluchistan, Persia, Arabia, in the Great Sahara of Africa, and the Tierra Caliente of Mexico. In the southern hemisphere the very little land along the solstitial line is surrounded by the widest oceans; but Central Australia is a desert, and the Kalahari desert stretches across South Africa, and the Pampas through South America.

India is, in fact, one of the blast furnaces wherein the winds of the world are evolved, bearing with them everywhere fire and hail, snow and vapour, and the life-giving, purifying oxygen disengaged in ceaseless and immeasurable

volumes from the perennially green primeval forests of the tropics. So placed at the very focus of her mightiest operations, man must stoop very humbly to Nature if he would hope to understand her and subdue her to his purposes. This, through 3,000 years' experience, the patient, religious-minded Hindu has learned to do ; and it is certainly not for the farmers of our mild, equable climate to be too sure of being able to improve on Hindu husbandry, or to insist too energetically on the superiority of their own doctrines and methods. The real wonder is that India does not suffer more from agricultural distress and famines ; and the reason of her comparative exemption lies in the phenomena of the South-West Monsoon. But most precarious, from a merely scientific point of view, is the yearly prospect of the seasons in India between the date of the solstitial hyperthermescence of the Rajputana desert and that of the rain-storm it calls up from the vasty deep of the Indian Ocean. It always comes, but one might every year repeat the question, " Will it come ? "—with the prayer, " God help its coming ! "

Great alteration in the physical condition of Rajputana by extended irrigation, or forest planting, or by an increase of its desert area, might produce incalculable results of the most disastrous character. The destiny of India seems, in fact, to hang in the balance between this desert country and the deep sea. The Hindus themselves have always been devoutly alive to those solar influences and atmospheric phenomena that so intimately affect their prosperity and happiness as an essentially agricultural people. The gods of the earlier Vedic Hindus are but the vaguest impersonations of the heat and cold, rain and drought, whose effects on their crops and herds were at once felt ; and in the mythology of the later Brahmanical Hindus the first place was still given to Agni or Fire [" ignis "], and to Surya, the " shining " Sun, and to Vayu, the " vague," " vagrant," " vagabond " Wind, or

to "domineering" Indra, the "atmospheric" Firmament [dome]. They, together, were pre-eminently the gods over all the gods of the earlier Brahmanical "college of gods," foreshadowing the Tri-murti or "tri-form" supreme divinity [Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu] of the finally constituted pantheon of the Puranic Hindus.

II

Its Phenomenon

The Western Ghats or Sahyadri Mountains are the crest of the great wave of trap covering all the Deccan from Gwalior and Nagpur to the Konkans, and overhanging the latter like a rampart of the Titans. This rampart lies almost at right angles to the South-West Monsoon, which beating thereon through sumless ages has worn it into its characteristic peaks, and table-lands, and spurs. On the eastern side, the slope of the trap wave being gradual, the Sahyadri range presents spurs sometimes stretching almost across the Deccan, in the plain of which they are at last lost. Thus the Deccan is divided between the open country and the hilly. The open country they call *desh*, and the hilly tract between Poona and Satara, or more properly the mountain valleys of the Nira, Kistna, and Yenna, they call the *mavals*, the cradle of Sivaji's *svairaj*, or "own dominion." South of Poona, the capital of the Peshwas and the Kabul of the Deccan, stretches the Katruj Ghat spur and its ramifications, crowned by the inspiring ruins of Sivaji's old strongholds, Purandhur, Singhur, and Tornea; and south of it the plateau of Mander Deo, the water-parting of the Nira and Kistna; and beyond the latter spur rises the polypus-like mountain mass of Mahabaleshwar—"the Great Strength of God"—whereupon an average of 292 inches of rain descends from June to September. Into the Konkans

the ghats fall either abruptly in sheer precipices, often of 2,000 feet scarp, or in short spurs of tableland and peaks, groyning this narrow maritime region into a series of *murhen* or " steamy " glens.

On one of these spurs, in front of Mahabaleshwar, stands Sivaji's famous fortress of Partabghur; and on another, only three hours' distance by rail from Bombay, and lying between Kalyan and Panwell, Lord Elphinstone founded the sanatorium of Matheran—" the Supernal Forest." Rising abruptly from almost the sea-level, and standing like an advanced tower in front of the ghats, which seem to end to the north-east in the stupendous scarp of the Harichandraghur, it commands the most striking and picturesque scenery; while constantly cooled by the sea-breeze, and screened by the ghats about Khandala from the land wind, its vegetation is greener, nobler, and more varied than that of much higher summits of the ghats themselves. With the twin table-mountain mass of Prabal—" the Almighty "—and the pinnacle of Funnel Hill, it is the dominant landmark on entering the harbour of Bombay, and in the sultry chasms and abysses, or *khoras*, between Matheran and Prabal and Khandala, the thunders of the Monsoon at Bombay are generated. Matheran is, in fact, the elevated tableland portion of one of the innumerable spurs of the Sahyadri range falling across the Konkans into the sea; and generally leading to a ghat or pass through the main range running north and south. And this Matheran spur, continued north-westward in the weirdly jagged crest of blasted pumice peaks called Bhawa-Malang, before finally sinking into the Arabian Sea, forms the bright little archipelago of palm-tufted islets which, joined together by the clay deposit of " the Flats " and the white strand of shells heaped up by the waves of the South-West Monsoon along " Black Bay," constitute the island of Bombay;—with its groves of cocoanut, and wide, grassy

Esplanade, and glowing gardens of strange outland flowers and fruits. At the other end of the spur, at Khandala, 40 miles south-eastward of Bombay, we have the deep cleft or gorge [*khora*] in the Sahyadri barrier, called the "Bhor Ghat," the only practicable pass to and from Bombay and Poona.

Between these points the Matheran spur lies extended like a horseshoe, thus determining the course of the Kalyan, here called the Ulhas, river, flowing, under its eastern and northern declivities, from the Bhor Ghat, past the ancient port of Kalyan—undoubtedly known of the Chaldeans "whose cry" was "in their ships," and to the navies of the Pharaohs and King Solomon, manned by the "go-a-ducking Phœnicians,"—and past the mediæval port of Thana, into Bombay Harbour, the great modern port of Western India. As in fact the Kalyan river silted up, the port had to be removed further and further seaward. The southern and western declivities of the hill overlook the courses of the Panwell and Nagotna rivers. From all points one looks down, and back, and around on tremendous basaltic precipices, glittering waterfalls, wooded gorges, and irregular, rugged spurs; and above all the vast overhanging forest of Matheran, cool, green, and joyous with the song of birds, and so wondrously contrasted against the scarred and blackened ridge of Bhawa-Malang. Far below lie the misty plains of the Kalyan and Panwell rivers, and beyond them, to the westward, the Arabian Sea, with Bombay, the sanctuary of the eponymous goddess Mambai, in all the magnificence and pride of her commercial prosperity, lying in it, diminished in the long perspective, as if to a minnow taken up out of the water in the hollow of one's hand; and eastward the loom-line of the Sahyadri mountains, with the arches of the Bhor Ghat railway incline just visible through the loom. Such is the romantic physical and historical theatre of the burst of the Monsoon over Bombay.

The grand spectacle of the phenomenon will be best described by the following extracts from observations made by the writer of the burst of the Monsoon at Matheran in 1865. The storm began on Monday, June 6, at 3.30 p.m., with sullen thunder in the north-west, where the clouds had all day long been rolling up in towering electric piles. As the clouds thundered they moved slowly down through the Northern Konkan, and gathered at 4 p.m. along the fantastically engrailed volcanic sky-line of Bhawa-Malang. All along Bhawa-Malang and northward, the sky and land were filled with lurid clouds and shadows, and thunder, lightning, and rain; the Kalyan river flowing black as ink through a scene of the most oppressive desolation and gloom; while, all southward of this abrupt line of storm-clouds and shattered peaks and pinnacles, the whole country from Bombay to the Bhor Ghat lighted up with a pure, serene light, shone like the plains of heaven. Every village, every hut, every road, and every jungle-track, even the bridge over the river at Chouk, came distinctly into view. The trees and groves looked magically green; and the light picked out the most hidden streams of water, and made them glitter in threads of molten silver. The Panwell and Nagotna rivers shone like mirrors, and the Arabian Sea seemed ruled, so far as it could be distinguished from the sky, with lines of this vividly reflected sunshine. The contrast with the outer darkness around and beyond Bhawa-Malang was supernatural.

Suddenly, at 4.45, the storm-rack rushed headlong down over Bhawa-Malang like a tumultuous sea, and rapidly moved into the profound valley between Matheran and Prabal; the wind blowing furiously, and the rain pouring in torrents, accompanied by the most awful peals of thunder and the ceaseless flash of forked lightnings. But when it had filled the valley, the rain and the wind ceased, and the storm-rack stood still, and for one hour in that

dead stillness (4.50 to 5.50 p.m.) the thunder and the lightning, both in horizontal and perpendicular bolts, raged without a moment's intermission. The thunder mostly rolled from end to end of the valley, but sometimes seemed to explode in its midst like a bombshell, and with a force that seemed to burst the bonds of the surrounding hills. The detonations were instantaneous with the bolts. Once in the dreadful stillness the thunder came with the sound of a terrific rushing hiss, although not a breath of air stirred the while. At 6 p.m. the storm again moved and passed slowly southward over Prabal towards the Nagotna; and another enchanting scene was opened up in the southern Konkan. Every hut and tree and stream became preternaturally clear, the inundated rice fields and rivers flashing like steel, while fleecy clouds lay on every hillock and slowly crept up every ravine.

Then, as the sun set behind Bombay, the whole scene became tinctured with a glorious halo of the softest golden light. The summits of the hills westward towards Thana were irradiated with every tone of golden light, passing gradually into deep purple, the while, between their bases the river flickered out in burnished gold. It is impossible to describe the transient glory of the scene. Then the moon rose and illuminated the fog that had now gathered out of the ravines and off the hills and formed an aerial street stretched in frosted silver right across the calm, translucent heavens from north to south. High up in the south, but seeming to lie from east to west, stood the black, embattled storm-rack towards Mahabaleshwar, belching forth flame and thunders the whole night long.

The next day, Tuesday the 7th, passed off without a storm; but on Wednesday, the 8th, the sky was again filled with vast electrical cloud-banks eastward toward the Bhor Ghat. At 2 p.m. muttering thunder was heard from this direction, when the sky became oppressively overcast and lurid. At 2.30 the storm moved westward, travelling

in the opposite direction to its course on the 6th, directly on Matheran. A mist went before it, thickening as it went, first into trailing clouds, and then a dipping rain, muttering thunder all the while. At 3 p.m. the valley between Matheran and Prabal was filled with the storm, thundering in long, reverberating peals, the lightning illuminating the dense fog wherein it seemed to be generated with ineffable splendour. Heavy rain accompanied the illuminated fog until 3.45 p.m.; when a light wind suddenly swept it away westward on to Bombay, and showed that a heavy rain had fallen over the whole country. At 4 p.m. the storm seemed concentrated above Bombay. Just then another dense fog, but luminous as magnesium light, again filled the valley between Matheran and Prabal, and the distant storm could no longer be watched; but the newspapers of the following morning, when they were delivered at Matheran, told us that on the previous evening the Monsoon had burst in Bombay.

Another year the Monsoon was ushered in with a very picturesque phenomenon. About 2 p.m. masses of cloud came along the plain from Khandala on Matheran, and as in succession they rounded the high basaltic scarp of Chouk Point exchanged regular broadsides of lightning and thunder with it. The sky was perfectly clear all the time, and the salutation between these clouds and the mountains was repeated for a day or two before the great burst. It was exactly like the bombardment of a great casemated fortress by a fleet of ironclads [of the type of 1854–5] in full sail. On another occasion the Monsoon burst without thunder. The clear sky suddenly turned black, and one universal solemn downpour set in, and continued for about 36 hours.

Always these appalling electric outbursts close serenely. The storm clouds retreat hilariously, like a drove of bellowing bulls, their last echoes dying away beyond the distant wall of mountains; the sun shines forth again in

majesty ; fragrant with the freshening breath of a myriad opening flowers, the winds fall to a " cheerful note " ; in every dell the delicious sound of running waters reawakens life ; the woods become vocal with the glad songs of birds ; and the heart of man is filled with an exalted joy in the contemplation of the sublime manifestations of the beneficent Power by which the face of Nature is renewed in perpetual youth and glory and praise. It is the sudden rapture of the untaught and instinctive vision of the absolute unity in infinite diversity of all existence and being; the magic mood that spiritualises sense, and through this passing show of things reveals the things that are imperdible and eternal.

One of the most moving passages in Sanscrit literature, I will say in all literature, is the hymn in the " Rig-Veda " to the toads and frogs on their grateful welcome of the " greater rain " of the S.W. and N.E. Monsoons ; and on first hearing it, I at once had it engraved, as Englished by myself, on the belly of the brazen image of a toad, given to me by the present Sir Bartle Frere, the second Baronet :—

" When the Monsoon bursts in lightnings and thunders; on the day when the greater rain pours down upon the overclouded world; the frogs in their sudden joy, leaping out upon the fragrant earth, join in rapturous gratulations, —the speckled yellow frog with the green frog, and the green frog with the yellow,—the concert of their grateful greetings being like unto the solemn chanting of the Brahmana,—bearing the *soma* libation at the '*atirotra* sacrifice,'— in the immemorial ascription [' actio gratiarum '] of adoring worship and praise to the Lord God the Most Highest, the glorious splendour of Whose might and majesty and mercy is as the clear shining after the great rain of His strength."

Imagine any English poet from Chaucer and Shakespeare and Milton onward finding a " Te Deum " in the croaking—it is deep-chested barking when they spring

up out of the ground as the first electric droppings of the Monsoons fall on it,—of frogs and toads! The Hindus also believe that these "squat" and "ugly and venomous" creatures of God—creatures of the same elements, and modelled on the same vertebrate archetype with ourselves—bring great good luck to all who join with them in praise of the Almighty at the outburst of the Monsoons; and one of their folk-sayings founded on this faith I engraved, as coming out of its mouth, on the back of my brazen toad:—

> "To all who raise their hearts in praise
> For timely rain on hill and plain,
> To God most High,
> Who from of old
> Spread out the sky
> In hot or cold
> Or moist or dry
> For each fourfold
> Necessity—
> To one and all who Him extol,
> Or churl or king, 'good luck' I bring."

It is an interesting coincidence that Aristophanes should put into the mouth of the frogs in the comedy named after them self-praise of "the harmonious strain of our hymns, and sweet-sounding song,—croaks, croaks"; but this is merely to sharpen and envenom the tooth of his sarcasm, and satiate the rage of his satire. Still it is an interesting coincidence; and serves to emphasise the antithesis between Western and Eastern thought on an identical subject.

A SUNSET ON MATHERAN[1]

"Die for the Son"

THE idolatry of the Hindus is a moot point with most Englishmen, and with Europeans generally. The following anecdote will suffice to indicate my own conclusions on the subject, impressed on me as they were by many similar experiences in Bombay.

The late Hon. Jugonnathjee Sunkersett was an orthodox Hindu of the most uncompromising temper; but owing to some service I was able to render him in 1857, I enjoyed his entire confidence. There is no man in whom I have ever taken a deeper personal interest, or for whom I could possibly have a more affectionate and steadfast regard. We were so intimate together that he would freely admit me to his presence while engaged in his private devotions with his domestic Brahman; only, on such occasions, I sat down just beyond the threshold of the door leading from his bedroom—in his Girgaum house—into the room in which he worshipped the ancestors of his family, and the greater deities of the official Brahmanic Pantheon. Seated there opposite me, stripped to the skin, with the officiating Brahman, and the images of his gods before him, and all the utensils of idolatrous worship, he would explain every detail to me as it proceeded.

Now, the great longing of his heart was that before he should see death, he might be blessed with the birth of a son to his only son, Venayekrow Jugonnathjee, familiarly

[1] This ethnographical vignette was originally a footnote on the name of the late Honourable Jugonnathjee Sunkersett (1802–1865), of Bombay, in Sir George Birdwood's Introduction to Mr. Sorabji Jehangir's *Representative Men of India* [W. H. Allen & Co., 1880].—Ed.

called Rowjee. Years had followed years, but only girls had been born to Rowjee, and the birth of a man child began to appear hopeless. Jugonnathjee Sunkersett himself had visited every shrine in Western India, praying for a grandson, and had even extended his pilgrimages for the purpose to Benares, and I believe to Muttra and Hardwar ;[1] and he never saw me without introducing the subject into our conversation. Such was the state of matters when, being on a visit to the hill station of Matheran, and curious to ascertain the ritual of the orgiastic worship said to be enacted there by the outcast jungle tribes—chiefly cowherds, and cutch [extract of *Acacia Catechu*, W. and A.] collectors—before the uncouth altar to " Pisnath Deo,"[2] [i.e. Pasha-Natha, " Pasture Lord "] in the dark grove of evergreen ironwood trees [*Anjun*, Memecylon edule, Rox :] at Danger Point, on the west side of the hill, just above and to the left of the Waterfall, I concealed myself for the purpose behind a rent in the wall of piled blocks of basalt enclosing the grove.

[1] The Hindu worship [*puja*, literally, " adoration "] of the Gods, i.e. of the Deity, through the images, or other imaginations, whereby they feign or effigy Him, is " celebrated " thrice daily in three interdependent acts :—(1) in the morning, of " perfect sprinkling " [*abhisiaca*] or combined ablution, libation, and anointing with the " five nectars " [*pancha amrita*, compare our rum-punch], milk, clarified butter [*ghi*], curds [*dhi*] or cocoanut-milk, sugar, and honey ; (2) at midday of incensing [*dhupa*] with gum-Benjamin, or frankincense, and (3) of oblation, literally " the weighing," or " measuring out " of griddle or girdle cakes [*chapatis*, literally " four-leaved "], sweetmeats, and other sorts of food ; all afterwards eaten, as are " the five nectars " drunken, by the officiating Brahman, or Brahmans, and, at the temples, their attendants [*pujachari*].

[2] This is one of, if not indeed, the most fascinating of all the words in the whole cycle of verbal affinities among the pan-Aryan languages : going back to the Sanskrit *pa* " protector," as in Gopala " the Cowherd," the Persian *Padshad* " Lord-sovereign " ; the Greek δεσπότης " lord " ; πάστη " food," and παστός " porridge," and πανός " bread," Πάν Pan ; the Latin " pater " father, " patria " native country, " patronus " patron, " pastura " pasture, " pabulum " fodder, " panis " bread, Pales, Penates, and Palatinus [Mons] ; and the English, (1) through German, Palgrave, foster, father ; (2) through Latin by way of French, appanage, pantry, pasty, pattypan ; (3) through Latin direct, see above, and innumerable other words ; (4) through Greek, panic, patronymic, patriarch ; and (5) through Persian, pasha, bashaw, bezoar-stone, i.e. Pad-zahar " Lord over poison."

A number of poor, abject creatures had gathered there in the dread gloom, and were about to kill a scared-looking cock, when suddenly who should come from opposite my hiding-place, trotting straight into the grove, but the Hon. Jugonnathjee Sunkersett, followed by a mounted orderly and two running peons. I thought at first that he was there, like myself, from curiosity, and was about to go forward to greet him; but the peons immediately placed themselves at the head of his horse, and he himself dismounted, and stepped up before the dreary and degraded shrine. He was a man of the Scytho-Aryan type, and of splendid appearance, from his shoulders upwards higher, wherever he was, than the people about him. There he stood, in the light of a sloping ray of the declining sun that stole in between the dark trunks of the ironwood trees, long-robed, and high-turbaned, and girded round his loins, a living presentment of the "magnificent son of Akbar." But in another instant he was wringing his hands in an agony of prayer, with the burning tears streaming down his handsome, massive, but now deeply seared face; his wan, beseeching eyes looking right up towards the heavens high above that closely grown canopy of deep green, polished *Anjuni* leaves.

Feeling myself to be the spectator of a scene I certainly ought not to witness, I stealthily withdrew from the spot, strolling on leisurely toward the bazaar. I had not gone on my way more than a quarter of an hour when, just before reaching the Clarendon Hotel, I became aware of the clatter of galloping horses approaching from behind me, and presently I heard my name being joyfully shouted. Almost before I could turn round, Jugonnathjee Sunkersett and his escort were upon me, his face lighted up in the deep-toned brilliance of the setting sun, with the most proudly radiant look of gladness.

"Oh, Settjee," I said, responsively to his mood, "you have good hope of a grandson."

"Indeed, yes," he replied, "it is just what I wanted to tell you, Birdwood."

"But," I resumed, "what solid ground have you for your assurance ?"

His answer was : "Solid ground of assurance ! Why God Himself has told me !"

I was astounded by the reply, and—remembering what I had secretly seen—could say nothing for my emotion ; and I left him to talk on awhile like a happy child, until by devious paths—but as much as possible still pressing eastward—we at length arrived at Alexander Point. This is a little more than a mile east from Danger Point, and commands the whole of the picturesque vale of the Chouk river, trending away south-westward, between the main mass of Matheran and its treeless north-eastern spur, called, from its flinty surface, Garbut.

The twilight had now passed in the valley below us into a purple tint, rising higher and higher to the great grove [Ram Bagh, "God's Garden"] of widespreading mangoes, and towering *Jambuls* [Syzygium Jambolanum, W. and A.], lordliest foliage of the woodlands of Western India, and the other fine forest trees hanging upon the east side of the hill, half-way down the steep and thread-like, rock-cut and splintered track of the old zigzag ghat road to Chouk. The ardent purple tint had welled up to this level. Above it the umbrageous top of Matheran was flushed with the clear reflection from the refulgent orange light yet aglow in the west, turning all its exuberant leafage to a rich mystic green, of gem-like illumination. In the advancing night, thus momentarily irradiated with the still enfolded brightness of departing day, the whole enchanted mountain and valley seemed as if filled with the visible glory of over-shadowing Deity ; and Sunkersett at once became silent before the profoundly solemnising, wondrous scene. Silently he watched the primitive hill-men returning by the precipitous and slippery Chouk ghat

road to their scattered huts in the rapidly darkening depths of the valley below ; each one, as he advanced to the head of the dangerous descent, bending lowly down, and reverently, towards the sun's far sunken flame :—

> " Through ages hymned by Hindu devotee."

The tumult of his soul was hushed, and at the last—as we turned to retrace our steps homeward—from out its depths he thoughtfully, and in his frequent oracular manner, observed : " Yes, just as our five fingers go back to one and the same arm, so all religions go back to one and the same God." Thus closed what was to prove an ever memorable day with him, and with me, for, remarkable to relate, with the completion of nine months from that date, a grandson, the deferred hope of all the years of his prime, was born to Jugonnathjee Sunkersett. The patient heavens had heard his prayer, and now their answer was not weak. And then, the great hope of his life having been fulfilled, straightway a change came over him. He was a man of strenuous energy, the most masterful natural capacity, and undisguised ambition and pride. He was not only the leader of the Hindus of Bombay, but after the death of the great Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,[1] of the whole Native community. But now he laid aside all worldliness, and unobtrusively and determinedly submitted himself to the great longing for death that seemed to have taken

[1] How great they all were, the Bombay Parsis of that golden prime of their glory !—Cursetjee, the second Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the " perfect gentleman," his brother Rustomjee, the absolute reincarnation of their great father's philanthropy, but not of his genius in business ; C. F. Paruk ; C. N. and C. R. and B. F., and D. F. and M. F. and M. H. Cama [" the six Camajees "] ; Cowasjee Jehanghir ; Nusserwanjee M. Petit ; Byramjee Jejeebhoy ; C. M. Limjee : A. C. and H. C. Dady ; D. P. and H. B. Wadia ; F. N. Patel ; D. F. Karaka, the historian of the Indian Parsis ; Manockjee Cursetjee ; Nowrojee Furdonjee ; Sorabjee Shapoorjee ; S. J. Sett,—all dead men now ;—and brightest and best of all the sons of that morning of their fresh-gathered greatness and glory, Dabadhai Naoroji, who still lives, through a third generation, in the all-cheering light of his long life of fearless and unfailing uprightness and devotion in the highest service of his exiled race and their foster country.

complete possession of him ; saying, on my once venturing to remonstrate with him for thus yielding himself up to die, and, in so saying, using almost the very words of the Greek writer :—" It is not difficult, Birdwood, but easy ; for the road is not crooked, but straight ; not up and then down, but all downward ; and an unfearing man may walk it blindfold." No ! He had seen the salvation of God, as sought by himself ; and now all he desired was to depart in peace.

Soon afterward he died ; and very great burning was made for him. I thought it would have given me a cruel shock ; but it was attended with none of the horrors—the awful reverberatory furnace, the repulsive, factory-like chimney, and all the soulless mechanism—of cremation in Europe. Except that milk was used instead of wine, the ritual was essentially that observed by Homer in the burial of Patroclus. So far from being pained, when it was all over, and I looked up into the clear and brilliant heavens above, I was soothed by the reflection that no taint of earthly corruption would ever be associated with my memory of my friend, for all that had been mortal of him was now part of the vital air and the cheering sunshine around and about me. This naturally suggested the inspiring hope that if human self-consciousness was indeed immortal, the freed spirit of Jugonnathjee Sunkersett was already with the "Father of Lights," the "Ancient of (undying) Days." It is impossible not to be deeply interested in such men, and when you know them for what they really are, not to have the sincerest friendship and admiration for them. As for their idolatry, my whole mind was changed toward it after that answer given by Jugonnathjee Sunkersett near the Clarendon Hotel :—" Solid ground of assurance ! Why, God Himself has told me !" And this out of the mouth of a man I had just seen in that wizard wood of *Anjun* trees, praying, apparently, to a hideous heap of foully-ruddled and stinking idol stones !

Henceforward I knew that there were not many gods of human worship, but one God only, who was polyonymous and polymorphous, being figured and named according to the variety of the outward condition of things, ever changing and everywhere different, and unceasingly modifying our inward conceptions of them. We all are His offspring : and every place is His temple.

THE MAHRATTA PLOUGH

I

The Mahratta Country, or Ager

"In omni quidem parte culturæ, sed in hac quidem [i.e. arandi disciplina], maxime valet oraculum illud: 'Quid quæque regio patiatur.'"—C. Plinii, *Nat. Hist.*, xviii. 18.

THIS defence of the Mahratta plough was originally written in reply to the sweeping attack on the vernacular implements and operations of Indian agriculture, made in a paper read on the 16th of July, 1888, before the East India Association, by the Pandit Srilal, a distinguished student of the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester, and late Secretary to the Agricultural Society of Bijnaur, the northernmost District of the Rohilkand Division of the United Provinces.

I restrict myself to the vindication of the indigenous plough, in regard to its perfect adaptation to the surrounding conditions of the land, and life, and labour in that part of India known to me familiarly, in the strict etymological sense of the word, from my birth, and dear to me as my native country,[1] the "great" basaltic "kingdom" of Maharashtra.

[1] The name of my birthplace, Belgaum, is Canarese, its correct form being Vennu-grama ["Bamboo—my 'Tree of Life'—Town"], and it was included within the limits of the ancient Karnataka, or "Canara [literally 'Black Soil'] Country." The Mahratta language is, however, spoken right up to Belgaum, and the Ghat-prabha ["Pass-leader"—my "River of Life"] river rising by numerous affluents in the Western Ghats between the Hanuman and Ram *ghats* or "passes," and flowing past Belgaum and Gokak, westward to the Kistna, now bounds the extremest southern marches of the Mahratta Country, and, up to its junction with the Kistna, divides the basaltic formation of Maharashtra from the granite plateau of Karnataka.

Hindu geographers divide the Deccan, or India " south " of Hindustan [the alluvial plains of the Indus and Ganges], into six principal provinces—viz. (1) Gujarashtra, north-west of the Narbada ; (2) Gondwana [the Central Provinces], south-east of the Narbada ; (3) Andra or Telingana [the Nizam's Dominions, etc.], south of Gondwana, to the Coromandel Coast ; (4) Dravida [Travancore, etc.], in the extreme south ; (5) Karnataka [Mysore, etc.], on the Malabar Coast, north of Dravida ; and (6) Maharashtra, extending from the Ghat-prabha river—which separates Maharashtra from Karnataka—nearly 500 miles north to the Satpura mountains, the watershed between the Tapti and Narbada rivers ; and from the Malabar Coast, 300 to 400 miles eastward to the borders of Telingana and Gondwana ; the westward border of the latter province being defined by the Wardha river, a northern affluent of the Godavari.

These are the extreme ethnographical frontiers of the Mahratta Country ; but its political limits have been enlarged by conquest even beyond them—past the Wardha river, and past the old Bhonsla city of Nagpur, right up to the Wain-ganga, the eastward affluent of the Godavari ; and again across the Narbada, where Mahratta dynasties have permanently established themselves at Baroda [Gaekwar] in Guzarat, and at Indor [Holkar], and Gwalior [Sindhia] in Central India. These Mahratta States are, however, excluded from the present survey ; as are also the Khandesh District [Baglana], or basin of the Tapti, between the Satpura mountains and the Chandor hills ; and the whole of the Nasik District ; and all the six northern subdivisions of the Ahmadnagar District, forming with the Nasik District, between the Chandor and the Ahmadnagar hills, the fluviatile area, wherein are gathered, by its head stream and western affluents, the waters discharged by the pastoral Godavari, through Telingana, into the Bay of Bengal. The latter tracts are termed,

indiscriminately, by the Mahrattas themselves, Vindhyari, that is, belonging to the Vindhya [" the Hunters' "] mountains, and are still in large proportion peopled by the Bhils[1] [" Bowmen "], and other aboriginal tribes, who, from the remotest prehistoric times have had their home in Gondwana, whereto Khandesh truly appertains, rather than to Maharashtra.

The boundaries of the true Mahratta Country, therefore, are : on the west, the Arabian Sea from Goa to Bombay, 250 miles ; on the north, the Kalyan river from Bombay to the Sahyadri mountains, at the Malsaj ghat, 70 miles as the crow flies, and thence, along the Ahmadnagar hills, so far as they extend due east, 100 miles more ; on the east, the south-eastern prolongation of the Ahmadnagar hills to beyond the sacred Mahratta city of Tuljapur, and the fortress of Nuldrug, both in the Nizam's Dominions, 120 miles in all ; and on the south, an irregular line from Nuldrug to Goa, crossing the Bhima, the great contributory to the Kistna from the Northern Mahratta Country [the Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara, and Sholapur Districts], about 60 miles south-east from Pandharpur, the holiest of Mahratta towns, and the main stream of the Kistna itself, 30 miles south from the splendid ruins of the mediæval Moslem city of Bijapur, and just east of the influence of the Ghat-prabha, the south-most contributory to the Kistna from the Southern Mahratta Country [the Kolapur State, and Bijapur and Belgaum Districts], a distance, as the crow flies, of altogether 200 miles.

Within the area thus circumscribed, the most characteristic Mahratta territory is, according to Grant Duff,

[1] The Mahrattas are mixed, but true Aryas, and represent the south-west extension, *en masse*, of the Aryan race in India. The Bhils are unmixed aborigines, or Vindhyan Dravidas, and are represented south of Khandesh by the Varalis [north of Bombay], Kathodis [north of Poona], Ramusis [north of Kolhapur], and other semi-savage tribes of the Western Ghats, who form the autochthonous substratum of the lower out-castes of the gallant Mahratta nation.

the region of upland dales, about 50 miles in breadth, and 200 in length, extending across all the eastward spurs of the Western Ghats from Junnar on the Bhima, southward through Poona, the capital of the old Mahratta Peshwas,[1] on the Muta Mula, an affluent of the Bhima, and through Satara, on the head stream of the Kistna, to Euru-Manjira, lower down the same river, a little east of Kolhapur. These mountain valleys, locally termed *mavals*, and the wide straths of the Bhima, and its affluents the Sina and Nira[2]—all this well wooded, and well watered, and well laboured, fertile, and inaccessible, and strongly defensible country, is "the very heart of heart" of the mighty basaltic tableland of Maharashtra. Toward it the hearts of all its true sons, the hardy, brave, shrewd, hospitable, and intensely devout *mavalis*, the Scotch of India, are drawn, as with a fourfold cord, by its romantic and sublime picturesqueness, its bounteous fruitfulness, its profoundly emotional associations with the religious poetry of Tukaram (*circa* 1609 to 1649), and by the heroic history of Sivaji (1627–1680) :—Tukaram, who passionately extols the glory of Vithoba or Vithal, the popular incarnation of [Krishna]-Vishnu, and of Pandharpur, the seat of Vithoba's noblest shrine, and of the

[1] The Pesh-wa [literally "fore-man"] was the Prime Minister of the Mahratta kings; and the office becoming hereditary in the family of Balaji Rao, they gradually usurped the supreme authority, reigning in great power at Puna [Poona] between A.D. 1718 and 1818; leaving to the royal family of Sivaji only the principalities of Satara and Kolhapur. The word *pesh* in their title is Persian, and occurs also in Peshawar, "the frontier station," in Peshin, "the front-land," i.e. "sun-rise," or "morning-land" [Anatolia], as viewed from Persia; and in such words as *pesh-kash*, "what is fore-drawn," i.e. "first-fruits," "taxes"; *pesh-qi*, "money advanced"; *pesh-kabz*, "fore-grip," a dagger, the blade of which curves forwardly from the handle; *pesh-ani*, "the fore-head"; *pesh-ab*, "fore-water," i.e. *οὖρον*, et cetera.

[2] The Bhima and Sina, rivers flowing side by side, between the Ahmadnagar and the Poona hills, and the Nira between the Poona and the Satara, or Mahadeo Hills, and the open vale of the Kistna, where it opens out southward from Satara, and away east from Kolhapur, into Telingana, together with the precipitous, low-lying, narrow maritime belt of the Konkans, to the west of the Sahyadri mountains.

Bhima, the perennially flowing, broad-meadowed river of Pandharpur ;—and Sivaji, the typical and greatest leader of the historic Mahratta race, at once their Wallace and Bruce and Douglas, to whom they owe the imperishable and inspiriting memories of an independent national life centred for 168 years [1650 to 1818] at Poona. This city, on account of its commanding strategic position, still maintains its pre-eminence as the military capital of the Deccan. It is the Kabul of Southern India ; and as, according to the Eastern proverb : " the Master of Kabul is the Master of Hindustan," so a ruler strongly seated in Poona holds the entire Deccan in his all confronting power.

I retain from childhood the liveliest recollection of the scenery and people of the whole of Maharashtra, between Belgaum and Indor, and Surat and Asirghar ; while with the Mahratta Country, as known to me in later years, and comprised within the administrative Districts of Poona, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, Satara, Kolhapur [Native State], Bijapur, and Belgaum, and, in the Southern Konkan, of Goa [Portuguese possession], Sawantwari [Native State], Ratnagiri, and Kolaba, and, in the Northern Konkan, of Thana, I am more intimately acquainted than with any part of the United Kingdom, unless excepting the basaltic plains of the Forth and Clyde.

The Sahyadris are the crest of the great wave of trap covering the whole of the western Deccan from Belgaum to Indor, and from the Central Provinces to the Konkans, over which it hangs like a citadel of the Cyclops ; attaining in the flat-topped mountain mass of Mahabaleshwar, " the Great-strength-of God," its greatest height, 5,000 feet above the sea.

This aerial ramp lies almost at right angles to the direction of the South-West Monsoon, which beating on it through incalculable ages, has worn its sky-line, where the trap rock is of harder basalt, into prolonged chains of

bluff, flat-topped, terraced headlands; and, where of softer amygdaloid, into an occasional jagged peak; and at a lower height has moulded it, by the same process of secular denudation, into the confused maze of lateral spurs, where between the rain water of the Monsoon runs off in the head springs of the Kistna towards the east, and on the west in the numerous little rivers that furrow their rapid way to the Arabian Sea through the Konkans. The black soil of the plains of the Deccan has been chiefly formed from the Monsoon waste of the Sahyadris; and this soil, so well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, extends beyond the trappean tract of Western India, far into the south and east of peninsular India, where it gives its name both to Karnataka and the Kanaras.

These mountains fall toward the west very abruptly, in terraced slopes, of alternate horizontal belts of evergreen woods and black bands of basalt, and sheer precipices, often of 2,000 feet deep, and rugged, irregular spurs, often reaching the sea in 20, or in some places 40 miles, and cutting up the Konkans into a succession of transverse ravines and gorges of incredible difficulty, and deep steaming valleys, covered with thick forests, mostly of bamboo and teak. On the flat top of an isolated hill of one of these spurs, stretched out between the Bhor Ghat and Bombay, Lord Elphinstone founded the sanatorium of Matheran [" The Top of the wild "]. Rising abruptly, from almost the level of the sea, to a height of 2,500 feet, and standing like an advanced tower in front of the Sahyadris, it commands the most striking panoramic view of them, from the stupendous scarp of Harichandraghur [Malsaj Ghat] rising to an altitude of 4,000 feet, in the north, to the pinnacled precipice, called by the natives Nagphani, " The Cobra's Hood," and by Europeans, " The Duke's Nose," on the east, there marking the position of the Bhor Ghat, down to the levelled loom-line of the mighty bluff of Mahabaleshwar in the extreme south.

Matheran, and the twin flat-topped Prabal hill, and the remarkable, curiously serrated, saddle-back ridge of Bhawa Mulleng, and the Panala Hill, surmounted by the basaltic column that gives it the name of Funnel Hill among Europeans, are the most conspicuous masses, crests, and peaks of the semicircular spur forming the southern watershed of the affluents, from the Malsaj Ghat, the Tal Ghat, and the Bhor Ghat, of the beautiful Ulhas or Kalyan river, the principal river of the Northern Konkan ; a corresponding semicircular spur is the southern watershed of the affluents, from the Bhor Ghat and the Sava Ghat, of the Amba or Nagotna river, the most sylvan stream of the Southern Konkan ; and these two curved spurs, converging, from the north and south respectively, toward the west, before sinking out of sight, form the bright little archipelago of basalt islets, which, joined together by the clay deposits of the Kalyan and Nagotna rivers, and of the little Panvel and Patala-ganga [" Infernal "—literally " Patent," i.e. " Wide-mouthed "—" Ganges "] rivers, and by the shells and sand thrown up by the waves of the South-West Monsoon, constitute the compound island, lying like a natural breakwater in front of the common estuary of the four creeks of the Kalyan, Panvel, Patala-ganga and Nagotna rivers ; and thus forming the magnificent harbour that has given its Portuguese name, and the commercial and naval control of the Indian Ocean, to the palatial city of Bombay ;[1] rising from its bright green Esplanade, flush with the blue level of the Arabian Sea, like the apparition of another Venice, suffused with the richer golden light of the eternal sunshine of the East.

Beautiful indeed for situation is Bombay,—and for providential opportunity the joy and praise of all those whose business is in the salt deep ! Among the palm

[1] The ultimate source of the name of Bombay is the temple of the tutelary island goddess Momba-Devi, " Our Lady of Bombay," an auspicious local form of the " Great Goddess " Devi, the consort of Siva.

groves, tufting the five basaltic monticules and mounds of the surrounding suburbs, sparkle the white walls of the houses of its opulent and luxurious merchant princes. This rare aggregation of natural and artificial features presents a scene at once splendid, comfortable, and, in its encompassing alpine panorama, wonderful; and absolutely rapturous, when the blaze of day has set, and the silver moon hangs above all in the spacious silence of the clear midnight sky.

There has always existed along the Ulhas, so far as it is navigable to sea-going craft, a great emporium of Oriental commerce, which, as this river became from age to age more and more silted up, gradually gravitated lower and lower down its course, from Kalyan, the Kalliana of the Greeks in Buddhistic and later Brahmanical antiquity, to Thana, i.e. Sthan, "the Settlement," in mediæval or Mahometan times, and to the port of Bombay, its southern debouchure, in the modern English period.

Bhivindi, the Binda [*Benda*] of Ptolemy, 5 miles from the right bank of the Ulhas, opposite Kalyan, is thought to be an older Aryan mart than even the latter town, and was probably a primitive Vindhyan station; while the period of Portuguese supremacy in Western India is represented by Bassein, i.e. Vassai, "the Settlement," at the extremity of the northern outlet of the Ulhas; which with its southern debouchure [and the sea], delimits a portion of the true mainland, the so-called "Island of Salsette," famous for its Buddhistic caves, dated between 100 B.C. and A.D. 50, at Kanheri. Chimbur, 2 or 3 miles to the east of Mahim Causeway, joining Bombay to Salsette, and corresponding with the Portuguese town of Bandra west of Mahim, has been thought to be the Symulla [*Simulla*] of Ptolemy; but the latter is rather to be identified with Chaul, at the mouth of the Kundalika river in the Southern Konkan. Yet the white variety of the *pangri* (Erythrina indica) found by the ruined Hindu

temple at this place,[1] and, in all the world, found only there, is to my mind a distinct relic of the ancient Buddhists who, as their grove at Lanouli, beyond the Bhor Ghat, shows, were enthusiastic arboriculturists. About 10 miles north of Bassein is the common creek of the Tansa river, flowing from the Tal Ghat, and of the sacred Vaitarna or Agashi river, the Goaris of Ptolemy, flowing from the Tal Ghat and the other ghats more to the north, that lead off, through their eastward gradients, the sources of the Godavari.

About 15 miles east from Bassein is the shallow and rapidly disappearing breakwater connecting the Ulhas or Kalyan river with the Vaitarna, and with them forming the spurious "Island of Sopara" or "Island of Agashi," where yet stands the town of Sopara, the capital of the Konkans from 1500 B.C. to A.D. 1310. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata, under the name Shurparaka, as a very holy place, where the five Pandava brothers rested on their way to Prabhas; and also in the Mahawanso of Ceylon; and is now justly held to be the Ophir of the Bible, spelt Sophir by Josephus; this form of the word still denoting India among the Copts of Egypt and Abyssinia. Without doubt it is the Soupara and Nousaripa of Ptolemy, placed by him between Nousaripa [Nosari] in the Baroda State and Symulla [Chaul] in the Southern Konkan. The well-known tope[2] here, was shown by Messrs. Mulock and Sinclair, of the Bombay Civil Service, to be a Buddhist relic mound, dating not later than A.D. 100, and one of the most interesting as yet excavated in India. It was

[1] The discoverer of this tree was Mr. Bhasker, the *karbhari* of the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, where I was careful to propagate innumerable cuttings from it, and to distribute them widely, even so far as Egypt.

[2] This Anglo-Indian word has a double derivation, viz. from the Sanskrit *stupa*, "a tumulus," as here; and the Canarese *topu*, "a clump of trees," as here also; the tope at Sopara having been so called by both Europeans and natives, from the vegetation on it, chiefly *karanda* bushes [Carissa Carandas], long before it was recognised, and first by Mr. Mulock, as a Buddhist mound.

further explored and learnedly described by Sir James MacNabb Campbell (1846–1903), the compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer.* The saintly associations of this tumulus probably account for the traditional sanctity of the "Island of Sopara" or "Agashi," not less than the origin of the Vaitarna in the same sacred summits of the Sahyadris with the deified "delimiting" [Tamil, Goda], and "cattle-bearing" Godavari.

The Aryas must have been early attracted from Gujarat into the picturesque and gloriously umbrageous coast land of the Konkans; and it was by moving up the Konkan rivers, and scaling their innumerable ghats, excavated by the descending streams, that they finally reached and civilised Maharashtra, rather than through the forbidding Vindhyan regions of Gondwana and Baglana. The Buddhistic remains at Kanheri and Sopara, and the imposing later Brahmanical sculptures on the little island of Elephanta, in Bombay Harbour, prove, by the great wealth lavished upon them, that all through antiquity, down to the rise of the Mahometan power in Anterior Asia, the creeks and estuaries of the Konkans were everywhere the busy scenes of the immemorial trade carried on between the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Eastern Coast of Africa, and Western India. We witness it actually pictured for us on the contemporary wall paintings of the Buddhistic caves at Ajanta (250 B.C.—A.D. 250) at the extremity of the northern bifurcation, within the Nizam's Dominions, of the Chandor spur of the Sahyadris. The inland routes of this commerce from Kalyan over the Bhor Ghat into the valley of the Kistna; and from Sopara over the ghat, into the upper valley of the Godavari, and on to Pithana [the capital of Salivahana] on the lower Godavari, and Tagara[1] [Daulatabad, the Hindu Deogiri],

[1] Tagara has also been identified with Deogiri, at the mouth of the Deogiri river, in the Ratnagiri District of the Southern Konkan, and the natural seaport of the Kolhapur State; while Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., late

about 50 miles north of Pithana ; where, on the southern bifurcation of the Chandor hills, the sumptuous Buddhistic *viharas*,[1] and later Brahmanical pagodas[2] at Ellora, as also the marvellous mural paintings at Ajanta, 50 miles north-east of Ellora, testify to the affluent resources of the ancient, pre-Mahometan trade of Maharashtra at its eastern *termini*, as graphically as do Kanheri and Elephanta at its western starting-places in the Konkans. From Nasica [Nasik] a branch from this easterly trunk road turned more to the north, and crossing in succession the Chandor hills near Chandor, the Tapti river, the Sautpura mountains through the Sindhiva Ghat, the Narbada river, and the Vindhya mountains over the Jam Ghat, at last reached Ozene [Ujjain] and Sagida [the *Sagida* or *Sageda* of Ptolemy] in Malwa.

These ancient routes are to be traced not only where they begin and end, but throughout their course, by the remains of Buddhistic and later Brahmanical architecture, as at Karli in the Bhor Ghat, where there is the largest and best preserved rock-cut *chaitya*, or Buddhist memorial hall [church], hitherto discovered in India ; and at Bhaja and Bedsa south of Karli ; at Junnar north of Poona, and Nasik north of Junnar ; and at Kolvi and Dumnar near Ujjain. And the great Buddhist topes at Bhilsa [Sanchi]

of the Bombay Civil Service, identifies Tagara with the town Kolhapur itself, one of his arguments being that the *tagara* [Tabernœmontana coroniaria] grows freely in its neighbourhood. There is a town called Tegur, a few miles N.E. of Dharwar.

[1] *Vihara* is a Sanskrit word meaning a Buddhist convent, and is traced in the name of the Province of Behar ; of the village on the island of Salsette, near the great reservoir of the Bombay Waterworks ; and, according to Colonel Yule [*Hobson-Jobson*], of the city of Bokhara in Central Asia.

[2] The Anglo-Indian word "pagoda" has also, like "tope," a double derivation, viz. from the Sanskrit *dhatugarbha* "relic receptacle" [literally "tooth-womb"], through the Cyngalese *dagaba ;* and from the Portuguese *pagao*, "a pagan." In India, however, the word "pagoda" is always applied to the idol-temples of the Hindus, and the word "tope" to the relic-mounds of the Buddhists. The "pagodas" of China and Burma are Buddhist temples built [nominally] in seven stories.

and Bharhut, 125 and 325 miles, respectively, east of Ujjain, are also indications of the far extended prosperity of the ancient trade of Maharashtra, rather than of the separate commercial system of the alluvial valley of the Ganges, cut off as the latter is from the lofty plains of the Godavari and the Kistna by the defiles of the Jumna. These from opposite Delhi to opposite Allahabad and Benares form the northern escarpment of the triangular trappean and granitic tableland of peninsular India. The beds of the Sone and Narbada, forming a continuous waterway, sloping in opposite directions, from Patna [Palimbothra, i.e. Pataliputra] on the Ganges to Broach [Barygaza] at the mouth of the Narbada, seem to open out a thousand miles of direct inland communication, through the very heart of Gondwana, between Northern and Southern India ; but so inaccessible are the Amarkantaka highlands, in which these rivers, and the Mahanadi, the river of Orissa, have their common source, and so precipitous is the channel of the Narbada, and so intricate that of the Sone before it reaches the plain of the Ganges, that these rivers, so far from serving to overcome, rather aggravate the obstructions placed by the Vindhya and the Satpura mountains to free intercourse between Hindustan and the Deccan.

The strange admixture of religious ideas and practices current among the Mahrattas is only to be satisfactorily explained by the enlarged commercial intercourse with Anterior Asia, and Egypt, and the West, enjoyed by Western India all through the great Buddhistic millennium from 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. That commerce made Buddhism in the East, as, through Buddhism, it made Christianity in the West ; while in Maharashtra, to the deeply rooted and strongly infectious animism of the Vindhyan aborigines, and the Vedic polytheism of the Aryan settlers, it added the elements of Chaldæan Sabaism, Egyptian Asceticism, Roman Stoicism, and some of the

distinctive principles of that general humanitarianism of the period that at last found its highest expression in Christianity. Even Bible names are surmised to have been deified among the Mahrattas, who near Pandharpur worship an image called Bawa-Adam, and in the Berars another known as Jabral-Abal [? the Angel Gabriel]. I am satisfied that the glory of the legendary Hindu rajah Vikramaditya [of Ujjain] of this period, is in part the reflected glory of Augustus Cæsar ; and that "the Nine Gems" of Vikramaditya's court are none other than Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and the rest of the Augustan poets.

It was, in all probability, in the course of this secular trade between the East and West, and long before it became so intimate as it did between the dates of Alexander the Great and Justinian I., that the characteristic Mahratta drill ploughs, the *moghar* and *pabhar*, were introduced into Western India direct from Chaldæa.

Janjira, at the mouth of the romantic Rajpuri creek, below Chaul, in the Southern Konkan, and Mhasla, at the head of the creek, are both identified with place names located by the Greeks and Romans in this region. Below Janjira are Bankot, at the mouth of the Savitri river, flowing from Mahabaleshwar, and Dabhol, at the mouth of the Vashishti, both places of some trade in the Mahometan or mediæval period ; and Ratnagiri, at the mouth of the Bhatya ; and Deogiri or Devgad, absurdly identified by some with the ancient Tagara ; and Malvan, at the mouth of the Kalavli, where the trappean formation is last seen in the Konkan ; and Vengurla, where the gneissic series of Southern India first makes itself prominent on the Malabar Coast. But none of these exiguous ports ever accommodated anything more than a precarious local trade. Being thus inaccessible to the international trade of antiquity, the narrow alpine strip of the Konkans between Chaul and Goa was never fully brought under its denationalising influences, and remained all through the thousand years

of the predominance of Buddhism in Hindustan,—and in the Deccan so far south as the left bank of the lower Kistna,—a safe refuge for the families of the conservative Aryan priesthood now known as the Konkanast Brahmans. The Brahmans of the Ganges valley affect to despise them, and in their disdainful and despiteful ignorance apply literally to them the traditional cognomen they bear of *Chit-pavan*, i.e. " a corpse saved from the funeral pyre " ; a figurative epithet condensing in a word the long history of their almost miraculous survival from the fire of Buddhistic persecution.

Whatever may be the interpretation of the local legend of their origin, they are a well-grown, handsome race of men, with fair complexions, light grey eyes, and strikingly intellectual faces, and obviously of far purer Aryan blood than any other Hindu people east of the Gandak and Sone, or south of the Kistna : and above all else, they present, in their manly and joyous national temperament, a complete moral antithesis to the witty and plaintive Bengali Babus, a radically Turanian race. Such being their inherent aristocratic characteristics, it is not surprising that, on the collapse of Buddhism, and during the decline of the Mahometan power in India, emerging from their secure retreat in the Southern Konkan, they gradually, as of natural right, gathered into their masterful hands the whole administrative, political and social, control of the Mahratta nationality; and, from the Peshwa downwards, became the first and foremost personages throughout the Deccan. Their mental superiority is shown by the manner in which their historic family names crowd the honours-lists of the University of Bombay.

The *Chit-pavan* women are of the most refined type of feminine loveliness ; and in the sweetness, grace, and dignity of their high-bred beauty, at once modern in its delicacy, and antique in its fearless freedom, they might well be taken for the Greek originals of the Tanagra

"figurines," awaked to a later life among the tropical gardens and orchards and cocoanut groves of the Southern Konkan. One never wearies of watching them, as they are to be seen in the dewy morning in their gardens, perambulating, in archaic worship, the altar of Holy Basil [*tulsi*, Ocymum sanctum] placed before every Hindu house; or of an afternoon as they pass, in fetching water, to and from the near riverside, or the lotus-covered tank of the village temple, all in their flowing robes of cotton, of unbleached white, or dyed a single colour, pink, scarlet, black, green, or primrose yellow, presenting as they move in the deepening shadows of the trees, along the red laterite roads, fitfully illumined from across the blue sea by the sidelong glances from the declining sun, the richest chromatic effects, in all the bright glamour of a glowing Turner or a Claude. And the outward and visible charms of these fair *Chit-pavnis* faithfully mirror the innate virtues of their pure and gentle natures; for they are perfect daughters, and perfect wives, and perfect mothers, after the severely disciplined, self-sacrificing, Hindu ideal, the ideal also of Solomon and Sophocles, and of St. Paul and St. Augustine; remaining modestly at home, as the proper sphere of their duties, unknown beyond their families, and seeking in the happiness of their children their greatest pleasure, and in the reverence of their husbands the amaranthine[1] crown of a true woman's glory in the highest.

The ascent from the Konkans to the summits of the Sahyadris, or *Konkan-ghat-matha*[2] ("Konkan-pass-top"), is very rapid. The old military road up the Bhor Ghat rises 600 feet in a mile; and the Tal Ghat is as steep. In

[1] All a-down the delectable Malabar Coast the women wear the flowers of the Globe Amaranth (Gomphrena globosa), cultivated in every garden, in their hair. Compare I. Peter v. 4; and I. Cor. ix. 25.

[2] Often spoken of simply as *Bala-ghat*, "the country Above-the-passes." *Desh*, literally "country," is the general plain beyond the *mavals*.

order, therefore, to carry the railway from Bombay to Nagpur and Benares over the Tal Ghat, and to Madras over the Bhor Ghat, our engineers had to take advantage, at the farthest possible distance from these passes, of the shoulders projecting from the main axis of the Sahyadris towards the Island of Bombay. In this way, along the Tal Ghat incline, half the ascent is almost unconsciously overcome, and the final lift on to the plateau of the Deccan is made, with comparative ease. The Bhor Ghat railway incline is almost 15 miles in length, and its average gradient is one foot in forty-eight; the work consisting of a series of Cyclopean cuttings, tunnels, embankments, and viaducts, carried through and over some of the finest scenery in the world. Thus, starting at a wide distance from the military road, the railway line runs straight up until it joins that highway at the old Toll House on the west side of a gorge, surmounted on its opposite or eastern side by the perpendicular precipice of the Duke's Nose. From this point, where a reversing station stands, 1,548 feet above the sea, it doubles back, with the military road, to the village of Khandala, 1,786 feet above the sea, and continues its course past the ancient Buddhistic grove at Lanouli, 2,030 feet above the sea, and thence, down gradually descending gradients, on to Poona and Sholapur, and to Bellary and Madras.

The slope of the trappean formation of Maharashtra is very gradual from the Sahyadris towards the Coromandel coast, and these mountains, therefore, present on their eastern side very long spurs, sinking slowly into the general level of the Deccan; but in starting from the same culminating headlands of the axial range, the eastward spurs correspond symmetrically with those on the west. Thus, about 60 miles south from the Chandor, or Ajanta and Ellora, hills, the Ahmadnagar hills start from the mountainous mass of Harichandragar, —rising 3,894 feet above the sea, and having a fort with

walls 18 miles in circumference on its summit. Thence they run in a ridge on to Brahmanvara, where they are 2,866 feet in height, and then expand into a terraced tableland, 24 miles long, 20 broad, and from 2,474 to 2,133 feet high, at Ahmadnagar, whence they are continued southward, until they disappear in the neighbourhood of Sholapur and Nuldrug. A short secondary spur, jutting out from them close to their connection with Harichandragar, ends, west of Junnar, in the rugged rock of Shivnar, rising 1,000 feet above the surrounding plain; and the fort at its top was the birthplace of Sivaji. The famous temple of Bhimashankar, on the crest of the Sahyadris, 3,000 feet above the sea, midway between Harichandragar and Khandala, marks the sacred source of the Bhima, which, with its northern affluents, drains all the rich, fertile dale between the Chandor and the Poona hills.

The Poona hills originate in the territory [*jaghir*] of the Pant Sacheo of Bhor, in a maze of spurs, merging in the course of 10 or 12 miles in the spur that stretches south of Poona, separating the strath of the northern affluents of the Bhima from the dale of the Nira, the main affluent of the Bhima from the south. Close to the Sahyadris stands out boldly, to the height of 4,605 feet, the hill fort of Torna [cf. *tortus*, and torque, torch, torture, tart, etc.], so called from the contorted, or twisted, pinnacle of basalt that marks its position from afar. It was here that Sivaji hoarded the booty gathered in his earlier forages. Immediately south of it is the hill, 3,392 feet high, that Sivaji, on finding Torna insufficiently secure against a surprise, fortified, and re-named "Rajgar," "The Citadel of the Kingdom." About 12 miles west of Torna and Rajgar is the hill fort originally called Kondhana, but re-named by Sivaji after he had captured it, Sinhgar, "The Lion's Den." Rising from 4,162 to 4,322 feet above the sea, and 2,300 feet above the plains below, it commands toward the north the whole vale of the Muta Mula, from the rich,

evergreen forests [chiefly of Memecylon edule, and Carissa Carandas] about Khandala, to the open arable country, wherethrough, on the extreme east, the Muta Mula reaches the Bhima. In the middle ground, under the dominating hill temple of the " Great Goddess " Devi, in her name of Parvati, " The Mountaineer," the red-tiled roofs and gaily painted house walls of Poona stretch hither and thither amid the deep verdure and towering foliage of the *agar* [cf. " ager "], or broad tract of enclosed orchards, and gardens, and groves, and avenues of richly grown forest trees [*nimb*, Azadirachta indica ; *pipal*, Ficus religiosa ; and *bur*, Ficus indica], within which the fairest city of the Deccan, the Damascus of India, lies far and wide embosomed. From the south, Sinhgar looks down upon the narrow, lovely valley of the Nira ; but it is best seen from Sivaji's proud hill fort of Purandhar, 7 miles south-west of Sinhgar, standing 4,472 feet above the sea, and 2,566 feet above the plains of Poona, with the sparkling Nira flowing past its base, almost due south-eastward, for 70 miles, to the Bhima.

On the right bank of the sunny Nira stands the sacred town of Jejuri, famous for its majestically-situated fane of Khandoba or Khandarao, a national incarnation of Siva, in the figure of an armed horseman, and, next to Vithoba or Vithal, the most popular object of worship throughout Maharashtra. Attached to his temple is a large establishment of dancing girls [*devadasi*, *ἱεροδοῦλαι*, *ἑταίραι*]. Not far from the temple, and close to Nira bridge, is the village of Valhe, the reputed birthplace of Valmiki,[1] the legendary author of the divine *Ramayana*. In this valley also is Hol, the native village of the first Holkar.

About 11 miles below the confluence of the Nira with the Bhima is the handsome city of Pandharpur, esteemed so holy, owing to the presence of the great temple of

[1] See *The Triumph of Valmiki*, translated from the Bengali of H. P. Shastri, M.A., by R. B. Sen, B.L., Chittagong College, 1909.

Vithoba, the national incarnation of [Krishna-]Vishnu, that the rich land immediately round it is restricted to the cultivation of the sacred *tulsi* plant, Ocymum sanctum, famed throughout India for its refreshing and sanative fragrance. It was the custom of all the principal members of the Mahratta Confederacy, the Peshwa, the Sindhia, and the Holkar, to keep up a house in this town ; and here it was that the Gaekwar's ambassador, Gangadhar Shastri, was foully murdered in 1815, at the instigation of the degraded Baji Rao Peshwar, by the hired assassins of Trimbakji Danglia.[1] About 60 miles due east from the junction of the Nira with the Bhima, is the third sacred city of the Mahrattas proper, Tuljapur, an open town in the Nizam's dominions, containing numerous temples dedicated to Bhairava, a lower national incarnation of Siva than Khandarao or Kandoba. To the south and west of Purandhar the horizon is closed in by the Mahadeo or Satara hills and the Sahyadri mountains, and beyond and above the latter, 44 miles due west of Purandhar, rises out of the Konkan, 2,851 feet above the sea, the hill fort formerly called Rai-ri, in Sanskrit Raygiri, " the Royal Hill," but named by Sivaji Rajgar, " the Royal Fort." It is the

[1] Together with the names of the Hindu gods, and such titular names as the Peshwa, the Holkar, the Sindhia, the names of Gangadhar Shastri, and Trimbakji Danglia, were the most familiarly impressed on me from my earliest infancy in India, 1832–9 ; and Trimbakji Danglia's, with the vividness of that of a popular hero still actually alive ; as for generations after their deaths the names of Robin Hood and Rob Roy lived on in the memories of Englishmen and Scots. Bishop Heber's lines on his romantic escape out of our hands from the fort of Thana, in " the Island of Salsette," are well known :—

" Behind the bush the foemen hide,
The horse beneath the tree :
Where shall I find a knight will ride
The jungle paths with me ?

" There are five and fifty coursers there
And four and fifty men ;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed
The Deccan lives again."

strongest of his forts, "the Gibraltar of the East," where Sivaji held his coronation, in 1674, and died in 1680.

The scandent Bougainvilleia spectabilis irradiates with the exotic splendour of its loose waving tresses of magenta-coloured bloom the stately marble cenotaph of Akbar at Sikandra near Agra, a befitting emblem of the magnificence of the alien rule of the Mo(n)gols in India. As aptly, and yet more remarkably, because quite fortuitously, the grave of Sivaji, on the top of Rajgar, was traceable in my time only by the patch of one of the commonest wild flowers of Maharashtra growing over it, the Commelina communis; its exquisite bright blue petals reflecting back year after year the azure of the skies above, as if in sign of the great national leader's eternal peace with heaven.

Another notable grave on these mountain tops is that of the botanist, John Graham, who died in 1839 at Khandala, and was buried there behind the Travellers' Bungalow, at the extremity of the grassy platform, thickly studded with the pretty white-flowered terrestrial orchid, Habenaria platifolia, overlooking the Khandala ravine; the spot being indicated by a short obelisk. South-west of the village of Khandala, beyond the barracks, in the old military cemetery on the slope of "Carnac Point," close under the Duke's Nose, there stood some 60 years ago, out of the thick sward of the dark blue and white magpie-flowered Exacum bicolor, a headstone labelled simply "Poor Nellie," marking the grave of some English soldier's young wife, and hallowing all the hills around by the associations of its tender and heroic pathos. I deeply regret that, on inquiring after it, on reading the announcement of the publication, by the author of *My Trivial Life*, of the novel entitled *Poor Nellie*, I found in 1888 that this most touching tombstone had disappeared.

The Satara hills project 100 miles eastward from Mahabaleshwar, and from this main spur send off, toward the south-east, three subsidiary spurs, each about 50 miles

long ; the first—running at a distance of from 5 to 10 miles from the Sahyadris—separating the long, narrow dale of the Koyna, the west-most affluent of the Kistna, from the broad vale of the head stream of the Kistna, and of the Yerla, the largest of the direct eastern feeders of the Kistna within the Satara district ; the second separating this vale from the valley of the Man or Man-ganga, a tributary of the Bhima ; and the third separating the Man valley from the wide strath of the Bhima ; which river receives the Man about 50 miles below the influence of the Nira, and after receiving the Sina from the east, about 25 miles south of the influence of the Man, itself becomes confluent, 100 miles farther south, with the main, eastward-flowing stream of the Kistna.

The head stream of the Kistna, with the Koyna, and the Yenna, a small tributary of the Kistna, all have their head springs in Mahabaleshwar ; as also have the westward flowing streams of the Savitri and Gayatri ; and these five rivers, with the sacred Ganges,—feigned by the Brahmans to derive a source every fifth year from Mahabaleshwar,—are known to the hill-men of the locality as " The Six Sisters."

The Brahmans in charge of the temple of Krishnabai, " the Lady Krishna," at the head of the Kistna ravine, show you five rills of water running through five holes in the west wall of the temple, into a small tank, held of the highest sanctity, from which their collected waters flow through a carved stone cow into a second tank of lesser sanctity, and thence tumble down the steep side of the ravine into the Kistna ; and they tell you that these five rills are the secret fountains of the rivers Kistna, Koyna, Yenna, Gayatri, and Savitri ; as every drop of rain that falls on Mahabaleshwar, and every square foot of its oozy sward, may be said to be the common source of all the rivers flowing from it, the pious fantasy of these Brahmans is not to be lightly gainsaid. But in profane fact, even the Kistna itself rises a mile or two to the left of the temple

among the runnels, formed by the superfluous drainage from the hill, below Arthur's Seat [Malet Point], the northmost point of Mahabaleshwar, and the water-parting between the Kistna and the Savitri, or river of Bankot.

A south-westerly projection from Arthur's Seat, called Elphinstone Point, forms the water-parting between the Savitri and the Koyna, the latter winding past Lodwick Point, and Bombay Point, and Babbington Point, all on the west side of the Mahabaleshwar plateau, before continuing its south-easterly course inland, toward the Kistna. Babbington Point looks right down the long, green fairy-like dale of the Koyna, dotted throughout its length, along the course of its perennial river, with groves of tall trees, mango [Mangifera indica], jack [Artocarpus integrifolia], and *jambul* [Sizygium Jambolanum], and, towards the open plain of the Deccan, *babul* [Acacia arabica], all indicating the sites of the hamlets and little villages, nestled within them, of the patient and skilful Mahratta cultivators, who have everywhere in these retired valleys carried the tillage of the *mavals* to the highest perfection.

From the temple of "The Lady Krishna," or from Kate's Point, three miles to the right, the valley of the Kistna opens out to the right, past Wai, and Satara, and Kurar, a gradually widening view of the plain of the Deccan and its far-extended and ampler agriculture. But as both the summits and the escarpments of the hills on either side, as seen end on, present an unbroken outline, the prospect lacks variety ; and only the vast magnitude of its scale, particularly in the immediate foreground, lends a sublime sternness to its severe monotony. Yet, visited in the still moonlight, and looked down on from the Krishnabai temple, and past the sacred town of Wai, with its clusters of superbly sculptured shrines, as one yields sympathetically to the associations of the locality, the scene makes an indelible impression on the memory.

From Arthur's Seat north-westward, across the dense

forest that shelters the sources of the Kistna, extends the main axis of the Sahyadris; their blackened, trackless gorges, and bluffs of stratified basalt, stratum upon stratum, high uplifted to the zenith, and gigantic stacks of serried peaks, presenting, as thus viewed fore-shortened, a boundless prospect of the wildest desolation.

Lodwick Point is a narrow wall of basalt, not more than from 6 to 12 feet broad towards its extremity, running out 10,000 feet into the west, and there dropping down suddenly into the valley of the Koyna below. The drop is so perpendicular that a runaway horse I once saw leap at full gallop from the Point fell dead at its base without striking against any salient ledge or angle in the fall. Projecting out into the sky, almost like a bowsprit from a ship, it commands a lofty perspective of the Konkans, in front of the main axis of the Sahyadris; but the predominant feature in the landscape here is the point itself, rearing its colossal wall, like a horse's neck thrown up inquiringly, above the deep, beautiful-wooded ravines of the Koyna on either side of it.

Bombay Point is so called from its having been there that the plateau of Mahabaleshwar was first reached by the old road from Bombay up the Rotunda Ghat.[1] It is a large space cleared out of a wood of noble evergreen trees, and fenced in, above the Rotunda Pass, by a low parapet, overgrown with Clematis wightiana [*murvail*], Hoya viridiflora [*hirandori*], the sweet-scented, white-flowered Jasminum latifolium [*kusur*], Embelia Basaal [*ambut*], and other luxuriant creepers and scandent shrubs. The view from it is the most extensive and varied and the most interesting on the hill; and hence this green, cool, and fragrant spot is the general resort, of an afternoon, toward

[1] That is, *Rortundi-ghat*, "the Roaring [or Crying] Pass," so called from the difficulty of its ascent; and the groans of the palanquin-bearers who carry you up it. It has, in these latter days, been used for ascent by motor-car.

sundown, of the English families residing during the hot season at Mahabaleshwar. It is evergreen-wooded down to its base, in the sweet valley of the Koyna, west of which the rugged, craggy spurs of the Sahyadris, stretching across the Konkans, present an infinite diversity of picturesque contours, spur beyond spur, without end, toward the north and south, and only bounded on the west by the glittering horizon of the Arabian Sea. It is said that sometimes a glimpse may be obtained, beyond the long sylvan valley of the Nagotna river, of Bombay, 100 miles distant as the crow flies; while southward the coast can be followed to Ratnagiri.

In the middle ground the low saddle-backed ridge, dipping down from Elphinstone Point, and forming the western enclosure of the Koyna valley at its head, suddenly ascends, before dipping down again to the Par[1] ghat, in Sivaji's massive flat-topped hill fort of Pratabgar. Only 4 miles distant, and rising by steep grassy slopes to an altitude of 3,543 feet above the Arabian Sea, distinctly visible on the left, it stands out boldly against the blue sky, directly in front of Bombay Point, and in strong contrast, when, after midday, its whole eastward side is in shade, with the bright, shining heights of the Konkans beyond. As the rays of the afternoon sun begin gradually to strike more and more horizontally through the heated, rarefied mists drawn up by it during the forenoon, the natural complexion of this majestic scene undergoes a series of atmospheric transfigurations of indescribable splendour. At first the hills and dales of the Konkans seem to be suddenly transmuted into silver, shining, as with its own light, in dazzling brightness along the ridges

[1] That is, "the village," *par* or *para* being the Mahratti for "village" or "hamlet," but meaning literally "altar"; that is, the altar thrown up about the *pipal* [Ficus religiosa], or *bur*, or "banyan tree" [F. indica], round which every village or hamlet in India is built, and the village assemblies are held. *Par-ganah*, a revenue circle of many villages, is literally "the collection [" gang," cf. Gana-pati, "Lord of Hosts"] of altars."

of the hills, but with a softer lustre in the dales; where their ethereal illumination is subdued by the lengthening shadows thrown by the sinking sun. Again, in the twinkling of an eye, all is changed to radiant gold, clear as topaz on the hill-tops, with the sea on the left ruled in long levelled lines of chrysolite. When the day closes upon the eastern hemisphere, the rapidly falling mists pass from a glowing purple to dense indigo, and the cleared sky at last reflects back from the darkened landscape the deep transparent sapphire colour that is the proper tincture of an Indian night.

Before natural scenery of such spiritual expression and significance men have ever recognised that this outspread green earth, with the revolving circle of the sun and moon and stars above, is but the marvellous contexture of the veil dividing the world we see from the unseen, inscrutable life beyond. Inhabiting a country at once of great grandeur and loveliness, and of the strongest individuality of natural features and phenomena, the Hindus in general, and particularly the Mahrattas, have marked every hill and dale and river, and almost every "kenspeckle" tree and stone throughout India, by a shrine, altar, towering temple, or lone uncouth image, in acknowledgment of the felt presidence of the one polyonymous God of universal human worship; who is everywhere identified by some dramatic name, accurately descriptive of the most characteristic local manifestation of His might, majesty, and all pervading presence. Barren, scorched plains, and pestilential marsh-lands, and blackened, lightning-riven mountains are identified with Siva in some one of his higher or lower incarnations; and fertile tracts, and pleasurable prospects with Vishnu or Krishna; or with Siva's consort, "the Great Goddess," Devi, in her more auspicious aspects, such as Parvati, "the Mountaineer," Gauri, "the Yellow-haired," "Uma," "the Wanton," and "Jagan-mata," "the World Mother." Again, the money-making classes

have for their tutelary divinities Vishnu, and his consort, the fair Laksmi, also called Loka-mata, "the World Mother"; while the ruling classes, whose duty it is to be "untender-hearted" [ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχων], worship Siva, and his consort Devi as Bhavani ['Αθηνᾶ Πολιάς]. The armed horseman, Khandarao, is the historical Mahratta manifestation of the Godhead. The higher class of agriculturists are the devotees of Krishna and his loose lady-loves; while the favourite divinity of the lower class of agriculturists all through Maharashtra, and of all men in their less serious moods, is the playful monkey-god Hanuman, i.e. "Long-jaw" or "the Prognathous One."

Thus throughout the length and breadth of the Konkans and the *mavals*, as surveyed from Bombay Point, from every height and depth there goes up the joyous salutation:

"Thou art, O God, the Life and Light
Of all this wondrous world we see!"

In everything the Mahratta finds God; the stones discourse of Him, the running brooks are His life-giving word,[1] every tree is a tongue in His praise, and every flower an Alleluia! This is the simple explanation of the intensity, the downright fanaticism, of the patriotism of the Mahrattas. Maharashtra is not merely their mother country, but also their heavenly inheritance; while the presence of the Mahometans, as religious persecutors, was regarded, not simply as a foreign intrusion about which of itself they would have been very indifferent, but as an absolute profanation and sacrilege, to be expiated at any cost.

Of all Europeans, the Scots are probably the most fervent in their patriotism; but Scotland after all is no more than their native country,—since the Reformation robbed them of their tutelary saints. It is not their Holy Land, where God has walked with man, which for them,

[1] A saying attributed to Mahomet.

as for all Protestant Christians, is far away in Jewry. To judge therefore of the Mahratta feeling for home and country, we have to conceive what perfervid Scotch patriotism would be, were Kishon a Scottish brook like Bannockburn; and evergeen Carmel, and Mount Gilboa, and Tabor and Hermon, spurs of the Cheviots, or the Lammermuir Hills; and the fragrant valley of Sharon, and the plain of Jezreel, "the seed plot of God," tracts of Tweeddale or Clydesdale; or were Flodden Field also the fateful field of Megiddon, as in sense it was; or,

> "—— stately Edinborough, throned on craggs"

one with Jerusalem "the Golden."

> 'Thy terrettes and thy pinacles
> With carbuncles doe shine.
> Thy verie streetes are pauved with gold
> Surpassinge cleare and fine.
> Those statelie buildings manifold
> In squares and streetes doe rise,
> With gardens deckt, and lofty fanes
> Enclosed Castle-wise.
> Quyt through the streetes with siluer sound
> The Flood of Life doth flowe,
> Upon whose bankes on everie syde
> The Wood of Life doth growe.
> There Magdalene hath left her mone
> And cheerfullie doth singe
> With blessed Saintes whose harmonie
> In everie streete doth ringe."

And it is in this conception of the Mahratta character that the foul and treacherous murder of Afzul Khan by Sivaji at Pratabgar, must be estimated. From Bombay Point you can distinctly see the temple of Bhavani, wherein Sivaji, Siva's son, solemnly dedicated himself to the terrible act, and the gateway in the circumvallation of the frowning fortress through which he walked down to meet the chivalrous, unsuspecting Bijapur general at the fatal trysting-place, whereto the latter, with only a single

attendant, walked up from the Koyna valley; and the very spot where he was so vilely assassinated, and where his body lies buried, is conspicuously indicated by an evergreen shrub [*apta*, Bauhinia racemosa], standing solitary on the hill-side. The deed was damnable; but Sivaji, in all truth and sincerity, deemed it high and worthy, and the last sacrifice of his devout patriotism to the welfare of his sacrosanct country; and it will be a bad sign for the Mahratta people if they ever come to think less of Sivaji for it. The Bijapur army lay between him and the independence of his country, and the only way of its overthrow in his power was by the destruction of its commander. Hardening his heart to the necessity, he enticed his noble victim into an ambush, and in a paroxysm of sacramental ecstasy determinately slew him.

The Kolhapur hills start from the hill fort of Vishalgar,[1] 3,350 feet high, whence Sivaji made his incredible night raid on Mudhol, on the Ghat-prabha, 150 miles distant; and from Vishalgar they extend for about 45 miles eastward, being crowned near their extremity by the hill fort of Panhala, the last of the seven greater strongholds of Sivaji in the Mahratta country, where a dozen others of lesser note might be named. These hills are the water-parting between the Warna—forming, from its source up to its confluence with the Kistna at Miraj, the frontier between the district of Satara and the Kolhapur State,—and the Panch-ganga or Kolhapur river; and they are the only range of the confused mass of hills covering the Kolhapur district that runs out over the plateau of the Deccan at right angles to the Sahyadris. All the shorter spurs to the south of it run at a more or less acute angle toward the north, carrying northward the three terrestrial tributaries of the Panch-ganga,[2] which reaches the Kistna

[1] There is another Vishalgar fortress in the Thana district and a Vishalgar pass, or ghat, in the Ratnagiri district.

[2] The fifth tributary, constituting it "the Five-Ganges," is the celestial Sarasvati.

half-way between Miraj and Erur-Manjira; the point where the Kistna is joined from the south by the united streams of the Dudh-ganga, Ved-ganga, and Hiranyakeshi. Beyond Mudhol the Kistna is swollen by the Ghatprabha, flowing almost due west from the Ram Ghat, almost coincidently with the line of division between the trappean and the granitic Deccan, and forming the natural boundary between Maharashtra and Karnataka.

The highest pleasures afforded by the scenery of the Sahyadris are for the botanist, and the flora of these mountains shows in its fullest glory in the Kolhapur region between Vishalgar and the Ram Ghat, the great pass, just beyond the Kolhapur frontier, between the shores of the Arabian Sea at Vengurla and Goa and the plateau of the Deccan. I shall never forget my first vision of the Bombax Malabaricum, or "Red Silk Cotton Tree," in the Ram Ghat.

I had left the plain below about 2 a.m., in medical charge of a party of about 250 European troops, and after a slow ascent of some hours, suddenly, at a turn of the road, just at sunrise, came out upon a glassy glade, overhanging the profound forest depths below. There, at its farther edge, stood a colossal specimen of this tree, quite fifty feet high, the trunk straight as "the mast of some great ammiral," deeply buttressed at its base, and sending out horizontal branches, like the yard-arms of a ship, in whorls of five and seven, gradually tapering to the top, and at this season, the month of March, leafless, but covered on every branch, in place of green leaves, with huge crimson[1] flowers, each from five to seven inches in diameter, and forming in the mass a vast dome-like, symmetrical head that, with the beams of the rising sun striking through it, shone in its splendour of celestial, rosy red like a mountain of rubies. I fairly shrieked with

[1] By reflected light deep crimson; by transmuted, the radiant red of a ruby.

delight at the sight of it, and galloped off at once toward it, followed in a rush by the whole column of men (who were mostly recruits fresh from England like myself) and at last, by the young officer in command, who, on taking in the whole situation, a most picturesque one—the red coats swarming over the green grass up to the resplendent tree —from where he had stood in momentary astonishment at so unexpected a breach of discipline, after administering a kindly rebuke to myself, left us to sit on for a while, worshipping in its ruby-tinted light, before continuing our march to the top of the ghat.

Again, when I first saw the Hoya vividiflora, "all a-growing, all a-blowing," in its natural state, on the lower slopes of Prabhul, opposite Matheran, before I knew what I was doing, I was off my pony, turning "cart-wheels" round and round this mystically green-flowered scandent shrub. I could particularise many individual specimens of different gorgeously flowered species of forest trees, such as the golden yellow flowered Cassia Fistula [*bava*], the purple flowered Lagestrœmia reginæ [*taman*], the vermilion and chrome yellow flowered Butea frondosa [*pulas*], and the scarlet Erythrina indica [*pangri*], that, on account of their stately development, and the striking situations occupied by them at Matheran, Khandala, Mahabaleshwar, and the Ram Ghat, are each one of them worthy, during the months of their glory, of a visit from England.

For the present I may do no more than note, as an indirect proof of the great botanical charm of the whole region of the *Konkan-ghat-matha*, and the *mavals*, and of its recognition by the Mahrattas, that the Kolhapur State still bears its ancient name of Karavira [*Sirkar Karvir* in the vernacular], "the Oleander[-land]"; and that the white flowered, fragrant dog-bane, Tabernæmontana coronaria, which is to be found with the Nerium odorum throughout the upper valleys of the affluents of the

Kistna, probably gave its native name, as suggested by Dr. Fleet, to Tagara; whether we identify that ancient Indian city with Daulatabad in the Nizam's Dominions, or with the city of Kolhapur, "the Lotus-city," itself. At every turn in the *mavals*, the wayfarer comes on the bed of some mountain stream, tufted all along its banks, and all over the little green eyots amidst its waste of pebbles, with mixed sweet-scented oleander and tamarisk, carrying the beholder back at once to the Ilissus and the slopes of Mount Hymettus. The lovely blushing oleanders are always found to shade some pure, clear pool left by the river from its summer flood, at which the gentle maidens and comely matrons from the near village are filling their water-jars—

> "a group that's quite antique,
> Draped lightly, loving, natural, and Greek";

as in the painting of the Rogers vase of the women of Athens filling their pitchers at the fair flowing fountains of Callirrhoe.

The central plateau of the Deccan, or *desh* [i.e "[plain]-country"], as it is called by the natives, [in contradistinction to the *bala-ghat* or *ghat-matha*] eastward of the *mavals*, from Mudhol and Kaladghi on the Ghat-prabha, northward past Bijapur, and past Sholapur along the Sena, to Ahmadnagar, and north-westward past Pandharpur and Indapur on the Bhima, and on toward Poona and Junnar, is an open plain, rising and falling in prolonged tame lines, the ground swell, as it were, of the boundless ocean of trap flowing over it. Solitary *tarwar* [Cassia auriculata] and *babul*[1] [Acacia arabica] trees, and rare clumps of date palms, diversify it, and multitudes of mud-walled villages,

[1] I believe that this local name for the Arabian acacia is an indication of its having been introduced into Western India from Babylonia. In Hindustani *babuli* means "Babylonian"; *babil-khana*, "a brothel," literally, "Babylonian house"; *babiliyih*, "enchantment," and "wine," and also "poison"—with a poetical signification. It has ever been but a step "From mystic Ind to fleshly Babylon."

the positions of which are shown in the landscape by lofty "topes" rising amid black ploughed fields, and breadths of corn and pulse and other crops, waving dark green over the wide arable expanse, save where intervened with the vivid verdure of the rice fields following the courses of the river beds. The lesser of these trappean waves are mere mounds of the rock, covered with a rusty-looking rubble called *mohrum*, its first debris. Others of greater amplitude are covered with black or brown soils, patched here and there with deep violet or jasper red, all more or less advanced stages in the decomposition of the same trappean debris.

Earths similarly diversified fill up the intermediate troughs in the undulating champaign. The hard surface of the exposed trap is scarred with innumerable runnels, winding in and out among the clefts of the rock, while through the less resistant soil accumulated in the hollows, the gathered torrents have ploughed deep and straight channels for themselves. The black soil is the *regar* or "cotton soil" *par excellence* of India, already referred to as the inexhaustible priceless treasure of the agriculturists of the Deccan. It covers all the most level portions of the *desh*, and is merely the ultimate stage of the brown earth derived by direct disintegration from the ferruginous rock on which it rests. Mixed with decomposed vegetation, and in conditions favourable to the solution of the alkalis combined with silica in its feldspar, it forms a rich, light, and pulverulent staple, equal in fertility and ease of cultivation to the finely lixiviated alluvium of the Nile, and the *looes* or celebrated fluviatile loam of the Rhine-lands, and *tschernozieme* or wheat soil of Southern Russia; all these natural soils, like the *regar* of the Deccan, being derived ultimately from crystalline rocks.

Such is the unvaried aspect of the Deccan beyond the limits of the eastern spurs of the Sahyadris; and the way in which the landscape becomes broken up as these spurs are gradually approached, is well exemplified by following

the Poona hills backward from Sholapur to Khandala. Advancing westward from the former station along the old military road, we meet, at Bhigvan, a flat, terraced, and symmetrical hill, protruding abruptly from the plain, the advanced link of a chain, looming like a coast-line along the right horizon. It is the lowest step, the outmost ripple of the Sahyadris. At Patus the ramifications of their spurs become more lofty and complicated, closing in on the road, which, always rising and falling, is yet a steady, although still more easy ascent.

At Arangaon, the fourth halt from Sholapur, a jasper-red wackè is met with, capped by a decomposing ferruginous trap. At the line of contact with the trap the wackè is hard and lateritious, but lower it becomes more and more earthy. Wherever the trappean rocks exist in the Deccan we are sure to find this laterite near ; it generally caps the ghats ; and, according to the late Henry J. Carter, the distinguished geologist of Western India, it is essentially " formed of red iron clay, the iron of which, by means of segregation, has formed itself into cells and irregular tubes, chiefly at the expense of the clay contained in their interior." It would appear to be derived from basalt, first disintegrating into a wackè, and then, by a sort of reaction, becoming laterite. It is soft when fresh dug, but dries into a hard stone on exposure, and is thus admirably adapted for building. Great masses of this strange rock occur in the Nizam's Dominions, eastward of Sholapur. Its special feature at Arangaon is its association with a powdery calcareous deposit, usually found elsewhere in nodules, called by the natives *kankar*, occurring irregularly throughout it in immense heaps. Thus a " nullah " or watercourse, to the west of the town, passes for some distance through nothing but *kankar*, and then through *kankar* and wackè, mixed promiscuously together. The *kankar* from being more concrete than the wackè generally stands out beyond it. Both are indifferently

overlaid by a secondary effusion of trap, that appears, where touching it, to have crystallised the *kankar* into radiated zeolites. In fields from which the secondary trap has been denuded, the mounds of *kankar* amongst the wackè are indicated by smooth, white, irregular patches, many yards in diameter, scattered over the red ground.

At Bhigvan, the puce and lavender trap rock [amygdaloid], which is friable at Sholapur, is hard, and used as a building stone. At Mulud, a section of the river bank, at a spot near the camping ground, presents at its base a brown trap, veined with zigzag bands of *kankar*, and above this a solidified stratum of *kankar*, crammed with worn blocks of various traps. It has resisted the action of the river so much better than the trap below that it projects for some distance in a ledge beyond the latter. It is covered by a deep deposit of black soil. In many parts of the river bed the trap is so completely decomposed that, although looking quite hard, it can be dug out with the hands to obtain water, or to form extemporary bathing-troughs ; yet every crystal in the rock remains *in situ*. Below the pebbly bed of the Bhima at this place layers of soft, plastic *kankar* were being dug into, when I was there, nearly 60 years ago, by the railway engineers.

Patus is situated in a *regar* plain of immense extent, studded by several low, tabular hills, covered with huge black blocks of basalt, and contrasting strangely with the shoreless green ocean of *javari* [Sorghum vulgare] fields from which they rise. Some of the blocks are boulders, others, from their quadrangular form, and the accurate way in which they are piled on each other, evidently remain in the situations wherein they were upheaved, and have been simply unmasked by weathering. The distant horizon is bounded by lofty mountains, mostly tabular, rising step on step, like an amphitheatre ; a solitary group on the west is peaked ; while between their

rolling spurs, projecting like promontories into the plain, stretch broad reaches of luxuriant fields for miles, like inlets of the sea. From Yevut, until amidst the basaltic ramparts that on all sides dominate Poona, the scene is open to the right ; while on the left the road lies along the base of an unbroken range of flat, stratified heights, on the most prominent of which stands a Hindu temple. Onwards, and always upwards, to Khandala, the formation attains its grandest developments, rising to the immeasurable, flat-topped mountain masses of alternate green forest bands, and black basalt cliffs, and fantastic peaks and pinnacles ; and exhibiting, after the outburst of the rains in June, the added feature of the gigantic, although transient waterfalls, that from every declivity and precipice, and through every winding gorge, pour down from June to September the flood waters of the ubiquitous affluents of the Kistna.

And from these altitudes, so attractive in their serene silence from October to May, and so awe-compelling in the appalling atmospheric passion and uproar of "the South-West Monsoon," we again look down [now north, now south of Bombay harbour] upon the low-lying Konkans,—their densely wooded hills and dales, their palmy plains, their shore belt of grey salt marshes, or vivid green rice fields, fringed westwardly with dark green mangroves,—and beyond all the pale-green waters of the Erythrean Sea ; the whole paradisaical scene shining in the setting sun with the transcendent resplendence of its various verds and shimmering gold.

II

The Plough

"Doth the plowman plow all day to sow? doth he open and break the clods of his ground? When he hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not . . . cast in the principal wheat, and the appointed barley and the rie in their place? For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him. . . . Bread corn is bruised. . . . This also cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working."—Isaiah xxviii. 24–29. (A.V.)

When engaged in the contemplation of the creative power of the Almighty as manifested in the geography and general physiography of the Mahratta country, we are apt momentarily to regard merely human affairs and interests as altogether insignificant and contemptible; and to exclaim with the Hebrew Psalmist: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him?" And yet when we come to examine the wonderful ways in which the Mahratta *rayat*, or cultivator, has adapted himself to his surrounding conditions of soil and climate, and gradually secured his economic mastery over them, it seems to us again as though the Almighty had contrived them to no other end than to subserve the purposes of man; and as if indeed the Godhead's Self was one with Nature, or the Divine Reason residing in the whole world, and in its parts, and adjusting and determining them all to the abiding well-being and highest happiness of man.

Between the reaping in January and February of the *rabi* [literally "spring," otherwise called "the cold weather" and "the dry weather"] crop, consisting chiefly of wheat, barley, grain, peas, lentils, and safflower, sown in October and November, and the sowing in June

and July of the *kharif* [literally "autumnal," otherwise called "the summer" and "the rain"] crop, consisting of *javari* [Sorghum vulgare], *bajri* [Penicillaria spicata], rice, maize, and numerous species of country pulse, and *til* [Sesamum orientale], all reaped in October and November,—in this fallow interval between February and June, the central plain of the Deccan assumes, particularly during the sullen stillness of the direct and the reflected solar heat from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m., a scorched and most desolated appearance; a yearly recurring reminder of the ominous fact that Southern India after all lies within the solstitial, and therefore desert, zone of the northern hemisphere; and that only by a wide promotion by the State of scientific forestry, and of irrigation works, such as dams along the natural lines of the trap dykes crossing the rivers, and by assiduous cultivation on the part of the *rayat*, can even the Mahratta country, beyond the immediate shadows of the Sahyadris, be made certain of an adequate water supply, and secured against famine.

But all is changed, as by some supernatural spell, with the first fearful deafening appeals of the burst of the Monsoon, and the furious downpour, amid sudden gleams and flashes of lightning, and ceaseless reverberations of thunder, of the divinely odorous[1] and revivifying rain. In a single night, as I have known it happen at Kaladghi and Sholapur, the parched earth of the four previous months turns to the tenderest, liveliest green; rivalling in softness of texture, and outvying in vivacity of hue, the azure of the now refreshened skies outstretched above. And when the blossoms of this, the true Indian spring, begin to appear upon the green expanse, and, trembling like stars in every breath of air that stirs across them, first unlock their painted petals, white, and red, and blue, and

[1] "Et cum a siccitate continua [terra] immaduit imbre; tunc emittit illum suum halitum divinum, ex Sole conceptum, cui comparari suavitas nulla possit."—Pliny, xvii. 3 (5).

yellow, and purple, to the expectant day, beholding them, one feels that there is no pleasure under heaven equal to that of looking upon bright, fragrant flowers, fresh blooming in their native fields ; and imposing as is the revelation of the wonderful vegetation of the Sahyadris, still greater is the charm of the enchanting inflorescence of the vernal Deccan plains.

A few weeks later, and round all the hamlets, and villages, and rural townships, and the palatine and sacred cities [Civitates Neocoræ] of Maharashtra, as far as the eye can reach, the fields are already everywhere swelling high with pulse and cereal grains, oil seed, and fibre and dye-yielding plants, sown for the autumnal harvest.

Pliny tells a story of a Roman freedman, who having found himself able from a very small piece of land to raise a more abundant harvest than his neighbours could do from the largest farms, was accused of enticing away their crops by sorcery ; when, pointing to his firmly-hafted mattock, and stoutly-bound plough, and sleek oxen, all collected in his defence before the magistrate :—"Here, Roman citizens," he cried, "are my implements of witchcraft ; but it is impossible for me to exhibit to your view, or to bring into this Forum, those midnight toils of mine, those early watchings, those sweats, and those fatigues." It is the perfected indigenous plough of the country, the product of three thousand years' experience, and the master's eye everywhere, that not once, but twice in each year, brings about the same magical results in Maharashtra, and, I might add, throughout India.

Some 35 years ago Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen had photographs taken of the native ploughs in the India Museum at South Kensington, for the purpose of enabling a leading firm of English agricultural mechanists to manufacture similar ploughs for use in this country. They really need not have gone so far as India for improved ploughs for light soils, and small peasants' holdings, for

the single stilt plough in use in the Shetlands is identical with the native plough used in the Deccan. The foot-plough, *casehroom*, of the Hebrides, is yet simpler—probably the simplest plough now known; and comparable in Europe only with the *αὐτόγυον*[1] of the Greeks. It can be carried on a man's shoulder, or under his arm, when he goes forth to his work in the morning, and returns therefrom in the evening; and it would be really more useful than any Indian plough in the cultivation of the small patches of arable bog-land in Ireland.

I believe it was also the hope of the English firm to undersell the native manufacturers of agricultural implements in India. It was an evil hope, but, fortunately, also a vain hope, for there is no chance of its ever being fulfilled. In India the cultivators manufacture their implements almost entirely themselves. In the Mahratta country the *rayat* makes up the whole of the plough himself, except the ironwork on it. This is prepared separately, and so adjusted to the woodwork that, after the day's ploughing is done, the *rayat* removes it, and carries it home with him every night. This ironwork is all for which he pays directly "out of pocket"; and the price of the whole plough, woodwork and ironwork, is from 2½ to 3 rupees, i.e. 5s. to 6s.[2] The cost of the native drill plough is from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d., including the wooden receptacle [carved with figures of the merry-hearted rural gods, Hanuman or Krishna], whereinto the seed in sowing is poured. No English manufacturers, here or in India, will ever make ploughs below these prices. In the Mahratta country, a slighter plough is also used for the light ferruginous soils of the *mavals*, and a heavier for the deep-stapled black soil of the *desh;* but everywhere these two ploughs are made convertible by means of a weight, that

[1] Compare Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 170:—"et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri."

[2] At the rate of exchange during my time in Bombay.

can be fastened to or removed from the ham of the plough. There are also two kinds of drill ploughs, one used for sowing safflower and gram, and the other for sowing *bajri* [Penicillaria spicata] and *urud* [Phaseolus radiatus]. The Indian bullock hoe is most effective for cutting up the stalks and roots of plants and loosening the earth wherein they have grown. It invariably follows the drill plough to cover in the furrows sown by the latter.

The application made by these English manufacturers to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen is, however, most interesting and instructive, as showing that even in agriculture England has lessons to learn from Indians. I had great practical experience in flower, fruit, and field cultivation all the time I was in Bombay, and always took the most intimate interest in the ways and means of native agriculture; and I am convinced that all the doctrinaire outcry against it, from the days of Tennant and James Mill downwards, as unscientific and wasteful, is as ignorant and insular as is the stereotyped depreciation of the industrial arts of India, by the same writers, and in the reports on the earlier International Exhibitions held in Europe.

This is not the occasion for entering into any lengthened chemical statement on the subject; yet I would wish briefly to set forth here some of the more striking facts in proof of the exhaustless richness of the Indian soils, and the perfected science of Indian agriculture. There is no manure known more fertilising than March dust. Its fruitfulness is proverbial. *In India we have this March dust blowing everywhere all through the year.* In the Deccan the deep-stapled black cotton soil is ploughed through and through to the bed-rock below it by the wide gaping cracks formed in it during the hot season, from February to June. So soon as these cracks are formed they are filled up again with the fine blown dust which loads the winds that all day long, and all through the night, sweep

the whole country. As soon as the cracks are filled, new ones form again at once ; and thus the soil is kept in a perpetual state of almost molecular disintegration and movement, and is ceaselessly reoxygenated by these simple, natural processes, to its lowest depths.

The trap rocks forming the substratum of the Mahratta country abound in quartzose and zeolitic crystals, containing all the mineral constituents necessary for the renewal of arable soils. I have seen millions of tons of these crystals heaped up on the weather-worn eastern slopes of the ghats about Yevut and Patus. There they lie, baking and cracking in the sun, and eroding in the wind, during all the hot season ; and when the overwhelming rains follow they are rolled for hundreds and hundreds of miles along the beds of all the rivers that pour down from the ghats across the Deccan to the Coromandel coast ; and with their flood waters spread the finely lixiviated fertilising dust into which the crystals are ceaselessly ground and comminuted far and wide over all the plains of the Deccan. The black " cotton soil " of India needs, for ordinary field cultivation, no other manuring than that which in this way it receives from the open hand of Nature.

Yet there is always in every village plenty of the best material for artificial manuring, where it is needed, in the deposits formed in the village tanks. It is in constant use for garden cultivation. *But in truth the whole soil of the Deccan is in a sense tank deposit.* The trap formation of Western India slopes, as has been shown, from west to east, like a shelving beach, and crops above the general surface of the Deccan in a succession of reefs, running at right angles to the eastern spurs of the Sahyadris, between the Malabar and Coromandel coasts ; and the staple of the soil of the Deccan was originally deposited from the succession of fresh-water lakes, formed by the rain-water falling on the Sahyadris between their eastern spurs, and

pounded back by these longitudinal trap dykes; lakes that at one time covered the greater part of the surface of Southern India. When the rocky barriers were at last forced, the waters of the lakes drained off into the Bay of Bengal, through the channels now marked by the courses of the Godavari and the Kistna, leaving the plain of the Deccan covered to the depth of often thirty and forty feet, with its exhaustless arable soil. One can always trace where these rents have taken place by the great breadth of arable land behind them, and the sudden contraction of the bed of the river, which often at these points flows with a peculiar noise as between closing flood-gates. The village of Gulgula, near one of these rents in the course of the Kistna, just beyond Mudhol, derives its name from this noise. It is the same word as "gurgle" and "gargoyle," and as Gilgal, the name of two or three places in Palestine, and of Silsilis [the soft Greek form of the Arabic Jiljilleh], the name of an ancient town on the Nile, near a rocky barrier in the course of the river that was burst within historical times by the lake once existing behind it.

I am referring, of course, to the historical black soil of the Deccan, not to the red; the specific "cotton soil" of Anglo-Indians, and the *regar* of the Hindus. In this word the syllable "*ar*," sounded "*ur*," is probably the same root, referring originally to ploughing, that in so many Indo-European languages enters into words connected with agriculture, and the ideas and institutions derived from agriculture, such as "arvum," "aratum,"[1] etc. etc., harvest, altar, area, arable, aristocracy, etc. It is the

[1] The English name of the plough, the immediate derivation of which is uncertain [v. Skeat—sub plough and plover], refers to the boat and bird-like shape and movement of the implement itself: going back to a Sanskrit root signifying float, swim, fly, wash, boat, etc.; from which, through the Germanic language, we get the words fly, flock, fowl, float, fleet, etc., and hypothetically plover; through the Latin languages lustre [of 5 years], lotion, lavender, pluvial, etc.; and through Greek [peri-]plus.

root of the word Arya. *Reg*, i.e. *rig*, is the same word as the Scotch "riggs" [entering also into *Rig*-["Veda"], "regular," etc.], or the lines of heaped-up earth formed in ploughing. *Regar*, therefore, radically means simply "arable," and this ancient Hindu designation of the "cotton soil" of the Deccan is an incidental proof of its immemorial reputation for fertility.[1]

There is also another unmistakable proof of its inherent fertility. Pliny, in enumerating the different qualities of arable soil, pretty much in the same way as we find them set forth in the Settlement Reports of the Bombay Presidency, and describing the tests for them, points out that the one infallible characteristic of a naturally rich and wholesome soil is "the divine odour" it exhales [v. footnote, *supra*], when it is first turned up, or when the first dews of twilight fall on it, or rain after prolonged drought. Every one who knows India will recognise that this is the distinguishing odour of the black "cotton soil" of the Deccan; and the authentic credential of its being the charmed treasure that assures the fortune, the felicity, and the unfailing fame of Indian agriculture.

The Hindus habitually use manure in the cultivation of rice. Sometime in the hot season the land is strewn with all the refuse of the homestead, the floor sweepings, and old thatch, old clothes, etc., being burned together on the surface of the rice fields. Then when the rains set in, the ashes from this burning are trodden by the men, women, and children, and by the cows and buffaloes, into the ground, until the whole surface is kneaded into a plastic, cohesive mud, called *chikal*, wherein the rice is sown. The effect is to bake the ground immediately below the upper layer of fertile mud into an impervious bottom, which prevents the rain from draining through; rice requiring

[1] The word *regar* as actually used throughout Southern India means "black soil"; while the word *rig*, in combination with *vid*, "to know," as in "Rig-Veda," means in popular use, "the Veda of Praise."

that its roots should be completely covered with water the whole time it is growing. In a carefully cultivated rice field, or rather pond, the water of the rainy season, June to September, disappears only by evaporation ; and by the completion of this process the grain is ripe for the harvest.

More than this, rice cultivation and brick and pottery making are almost everywhere interdependent industries in India. The natural crude clay of the soil is too contractile, and too little cohesive for brick and pottery making. It has therefore to be kneaded with ashes before it can be used for these purposes ; and in fact it is the *barsat-mati*, or " rain-earth " of the rice fields, that is always used for the best native bricks, and pots and pans throughout the Mahratta country. The potter also is almost always the rice cultivator of the village. There could not be a stronger proof than this of the thoroughly practical and scientific character of Indian agriculture. The simple reason why every attempt by self-sufficient Englishmen to make bricks and pottery in Bombay at first proved a ruinous failure was that crude clay, obtained, as in England, from the first ground to be purchased in the market, was used in their manufacture, instead of *barsat-mati*.

In the Deccan the fields are never ploughed oftener than once in two years, and in some places only once in four or five, or even six years. The surface *regar* does indeed become exhausted by continual cropping without ploughing ; but with occasional ploughing, just to turn the soil, and, still more important, to clear away the thick mat of creeping weeds, its fertility is exhaustless, if it is of any staple, and a foot is sufficient. In a word, *regar* is itself manure in its final chemical form ; and the Sahyadri mountains and their spurs, its original source, may be compared to an everlasting mound of manure, and the Monsoon drainage of them to liquid dressing, by the regular application of which the incorruptible vitality of the *regar* deposits in the plains below is perennially renovated.

The *nangar* [cf. "anchora"], or ordinary Mahratta plough, is made up of the six following parts :—[1]

1. The *dant*,[2] "dentale" or "dentalia," of the Romans, ἔλευμα of the Greeks—the body of the plough, or share beam of *babul* wood [Acacia arabica].

2. The *phal*, "vomis" of the Romans, ὕννις of the Greeks, *sikka* of the Hebrews—the spade-shaped iron share, fastened to the share beam by its long handle [*pahla*], and a triangular iron girdle called *wasu*. It will be remembered that the Roman spade was called "pala."

3. The *ruman*, "buris" of the Romans, γύης of the Greeks, *dakas* of the Hebrews—the upright stilt, or plough tail, fastened into the broad end of the plough beam.

4. The *mutiah*, "stiva" and "manicula" of the Romans, ἐχέτλη of the Greeks, *kabusa* of the Arabs—the cross handle passed through the top of the *ruman*, by which the plough is held and guided.

5. The *alus*, "temo" of the Romans, and ῥυμός [cf. *ruman* above] of the Greeks, *buruk* of the Arabs—the pole or plough tree, by which it is drawn.

6. The *juh*, "jugum" of the Romans, ζυγόν of the Greeks—the yoke for the oxen.

This plough can easily be converted from a light into a heavy one by placing a stone weight on the share beam, or by substituting a second heavier share beam for the lighter when necessary. A light plough, drawn by two oxen, is used on the acclivities of the *mavals*, but in the *desh* a heavy plough, drawn by four or six, and even eight oxen, is occasionally used.

The drill plough, for sowing at the same time as ploughing, is also of two kinds—the heavier, called the *moghar*,

[1] Read with this,—Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 426 *et seqq.*; and Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 161–75.

[2] The Roman *dentale* was sometimes made up, as in the Mahratta *danti*, of two symmetrical pieces, and its name then took the plural form of *dentalia*.

for sowing gram and wheat; and the lighter, called *pabhar*, for sowing millets and other small grains. Both are composed of the eight corresponding parts following :—

1. The *lohr* or roughly triangular transverse beam; heavier in the *moghar* than in the *pabhar*.

2. The four *phan* [cf. fangs], or pieces of wood inserted, pointing forwards, at regular intervals at the lower edge of the transverse *lohr*.

3. The four *pharoli*, or four iron tips of the four *phan*.

4. The four *nala* ["nullahs"], or hollow bamboos inserted by their lower ends through the four *phan*, and opening out on the ground, behind the four *pharoli*.

5. The *charh*, or wooden cup [carved with the images of Hanuman, Krishna-Vishnu, or Siva, or all of them] into the bottom of which the four converging *nala* are inserted by their upper ends; and thus carry off the seed poured into the *charh*, and deposit it through each of the four *phan* in furrows, simultaneously turned up by the four iron-tipped *phan*.

6 and 7. The *dandi* or plough pole; and the *juh* or yoke.

8. The *ruman* or plough tail.

The whole of the apparatus for sowing, the *charh* and four *nala*, is removable, and this plough can therefore, when required, serve as a harrow.

It is identical in principle with the drill plough of Mesopotamia[1] represented on the black stone monument of the Assyrian King Esarhaddon, 681–668 B.C., now in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen; and looking at this figure, and considering that Lower Mesopotamia was the earliest seat of advanced agriculture, including river damming and canal construction, in Anterior Asia, there can be little doubt of the drill plough of India having originally been obtained from Babylonia. It was probably

[1] It is figured in Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 198, ed. 1864.

introduced into Western India by sea, direct from the Persian Gulf; while the ordinary single-stilted plough would seem to have passed from Mesopotamia overland into North-Western India, through Persia. The Greeks and Romans must also through their common ancestors have received their single-stilted plough from Mesopotamia; while the later double-handled plough of Europe is to be traced back to the influence of ancient Egypt.[1]

In the *kulav* or hoe, a long iron scraper, called *phas*, is attached by two lateral pegs, called *janavli*, to the transverse beam or *lohr;* whereinto are inserted the draft pole or *dandia*, supporting the yoke or *juh* at its end, and the upright stilt or *ruman*, with its cross handle or *mutiah*.

The remaining draft implements are the *alvat* or *muhig*, a long transverse beam fixed to a pole and used to level down ploughed fields and break up clods; the *jang* or *janjia*, the common husbandry cart, consisting of a large wicker-work basket-like body, set on solid hewn wooden wheels, and used for carrying weeds, rubbish, and manure; and the *gara*, consisting of a flat light frame, of four long longitudinal planks, fixed by three shorter transverse planks, set upon solid wooden wheels, and used for carrying produce,—the "Tribulaque Eleusinæ matris volventia plaustra," of Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 163. The cost of the *gara* is Rs.100, and it is the most expensive article of rolling stock in a Deccan farmyard.

The chief hand implements are the *yila* or sickle, and the *koita* or bill-hook, and the *kudal*, *kudli* or pick; and so perfectly adapted are the forms of these implements to the work to be done with them, and so true the steel used in their fashioning, that in the work of the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, I preferred them to the best American and English-made gardening tools.

The cut grain is stacked before threshing; and is threshed

[1] Pliny, vii. 57 (56) writes: "We owe the use of oxen and the plough to Buzyges (i.e. Ox-yoker) the Athenian; but others say to Triptolemus."

by being trodden out by oxen on some near spot, made smooth by damping it with water, and beating it down, and cow-dunging it, and allowing it to dry in the sun. A pole [*tevrah*] is then stuck in the middle of this open-air floor, and six or eight bullocks, half on one side of the pole and half on the other, are driven round and round it, until all the grain is trampled out, and the stalks crushed into a friable fodder much relished by the cattle. The winnowing, or *upun*, is done upon a winnowing basket [*upun-vati*], identical with the " mystica vannus Iacchi " of Virgil ;[1] and the grain is then stored in baskets, called *kuning*, made of the twigs of the sacred *nirgand* [Vitex Negundo], and thatched over the top, like old-fashioned beehives ; or in earthenware jars called *hotli*, of very archaic form and decoration, being square at the top and bottom, but bulged out above, and marked round the neck with bold notches, or a rope-like moulding. When the grain is wanted for household use, it is ground by the women in a hand-mill called *chaki* [" wheel "] consisting of two round stones, one turned on the other by a wooden peg fixed in the rim of the upper stone. Through a hole in the centre of the latter the grain is poured in between it and the nether stone. Husked grains, such as rice, and some of the smaller millets, are pounded in a mortar called *ukal*, with a pestle called *musal*, formed of a straight piece of wood 4 or 5 feet long, tipped at the bottom with iron, and at the top with a round knob, cut on the stick itself. The mortar is of wood, shaped like a truncated hour-glass, and notched archaically round the constricture of its body.

This exhausts the distinctive properties—the whole " arma Cerealia "—of a Deccan *rayat's* farmstead ; but in every considerable village there is sure to be found an oil mill and a sugar-cane press ; and among the surrounding fields and plantations one or more wells [*vihir*], with their high-raised, overhanging apparatus of running wheels, and

[1] *Georgics*, I, 166.

folded large leather bucket, of about 60 gallons capacity, for raising the water, and sending it flowing through a thousand tiny channels all over the adjacent acres of lush and swelling vegetation. They present one of the most characteristic sights round an Indian agricultural township; and nothing can be more delectable in the noontide of the cold season than to listen to the hardy, manful Deccan *rayats*, stripped naked to their work, singing joyously at these wells, to the sweet and enheartening musical accompaniment of the water ceaselessly outpouring from them into a widely murmuring maze of rippling rivulets and rills.

Add to these out-of-door properties the appliances to be found indoors;—the large earthenware or brass lamps, the jars for holding meal, spices, and condiments, the pestle and mortar for bruising them together, the kneading-board and a rolling-pin for preparing the unleavened cakes of *bajri* and *javari*, the iron girdle for baking, and the copper pots and pans wherein the *bajri* and *javari* porridge, the pulse porridge and pulse soup, and the spiced vegetable stews, and the sweetmeats, are cooked,—and you exhaust the whole inventory of the mechanism, from the plough downward to the necessaries of domestic furniture, of the agricultural life of the Deccan. But the prime movers, so to say, in the development of the latent wealth of the soil into food and other products for human use, are the hardy, thrifty *rayat* and his wife, and his oxen, and his incomparable plough.

It is the simple agricultural life portrayed by Hesiod, Virgil, and Pliny, and by the *Scriptores* [Varro, Columella, Taurus Æmilianus, and Cato], *Rei Rusticæ, Veteres Latini,* and by our own Tusser; but without the restless, hustling spirit of emulous competition that, from the first days of their enforced exodus from the East, has been the necessarily disturbing and disintegrating element in the agriculture, as in the general progressive civilisation of the Aryas of

the West. I do not mean that the steam-ploughing of England and America, if applied in India, would not augment the productiveness of its soil, or at least extend its area of production; although for all the social disadvantages resulting from the growth of large estates in the West, the only compensation England has over India in this respect of extended arable land, is that, while a fraction less than one-third of the surface of land and water is under cultivation in India, in England one-half of our total acreage is cultivated. But the point of my defence is that as the Hindus maintain their natural interdependence and recognise their indissoluble fraternity as the first law of their social organisation (the responsibilities and obligations of which are enforced on all, from the highest to the lowest), it would be impossible to introduce prematurely the vaunted farming of England into India, even if its methods and appliances were in themselves improvements, without involving the destruction of the beneficent co-operative rural life whereon the whole system of the civilisation of the Hindus has been immemorially based. That system, and that life, like all else that is of human origin, are probably destined to disappear, and have already been affected by the economic changes of the twentieth century. But if we are wise, this disappearance will be gradual, through self-evolved changes in the internal consciousness of the race of Brahmanical Hindus. We are answerable for the happiness of the people of India, as distinguished from the "progress and prosperity" of their country, or, in other words, its scientific exploitation; consequently the last thing to be desired or encouraged by us is the hastening forward of the probably inevitable reconstruction of Hindu society by means for which the people of India are still unprepared, and which therefore could only act with destructive and revolutionary effect.

The introduction of the machinery of Western agriculture

into India is quite impossible in the present economic condition of the country; and every attempt at it, in my experience, has proved a flagitious and farcical failure. I remember a steam plough being sent to Jamkhandi, one of the Southern Mahratta Native States. It was led out festooned with roses and jasmine, like an Indian bridegroom, into a rich *regar* field, and all of us who were called together to witness the prodigies it was to perform, were also wreathed with roses, and touched on our hands and foreheads with *atar;* and sprinkled all over with rose water. In a moment, with a snort, and a shriek, and a puff of smoky steam, the gigantic mechanism made a vigorous, loud-hissing rush forward, but, as was at once perceived, also gradually downward, until, after vainly struggling for a while against an ignominious fate, it at last settled down silently and fairly foundered in the furrow it had so deeply delved into the soft, yielding soil; and then not all the king's soldiers, and all the king's men, nor all the servants of the incensed Bhavani [Athene Boarmia, the "Ox-yoker" here], the hereditary blacksmiths and carpenters from the neighbouring palatine village, could do anything with the portentous monster. Nothing could be done with it as a steam plough. It had been recklessly brought into a sacrosanct economic system wherein it had no place, except as another god; and another god it was at once made. As soon as it could be moved out of the field it was sided into the village temple hard by; and there its huge steel share was set up on end, and bedaubed red, and worshipped as a *lingam*, the phallic symbol of Siva; and there, I suppose, it stands an object of worship to this day.[1]

The Indian plough is, in short, part and parcel of a fixed,

[1] The late Mr. Grattan Geary, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, on reading this article in its original form in 1888, at once sent an agent to the Jamkhandi State, who found the ploughshare still there in undisputed deity, as evidenced by its daily daubs of dominical red.

crystallised life, wherein it is the primitive and primary integrant molecule, regulating the relations, and determining the dimensions, and the ultimate character of the entire and indissoluble economic, social, and religious system built up on it. In that life all are but co-ordinate parts of one undivided and indivisible whole, wherein the provision and respect due to every individual are enforced, under the highest religious sanctions, and every office and calling perpetuated from father to son by those cardinal obligations of caste on which the whole hierarchy of Hinduism hinges.

Thus the social aspects of a Deccan village are as of a large family, living together that united life of contentment in moderation which is the perfection of human felicity. The first sound heard in one of these villages after the deep stillness of the night and just before the dawn, is of "the house father," who having, on rising, worshipped the family gods, is now moving about quietly, with his head and shoulders still wrapped in the *chadar* ["sheet"] wherein he has been sleeping, quietly arousing the bullocks and oxen, stalled either in a yard behind the house or in the porch in front.[1] It is a devoutly soothing sound, for it tells you at once that you are among a people setting about their daily duties actually hand in hand with God.

Having got the cattle out into the road, and lit his cigarette of tobacco rolled in a leaf of the *apta* [Bauhinia

[1] The ritualism to be observed in attending to cattle, and especially to the cow, is most minute, and would be exacting, but that it has become instinctive in the race of Brahmanical Hindus. You must not step over the rope to which a calf is tied; and must always approach and pass a cow on your right hand; and keep your right arm covered the whole time you are in the cow-shippen. You must never ride a cow, nor interrupt her while sucking her calf, nor in any way annoy her. Shortly after the railway between Poona and Bombay was first opened, a cow having to be sent by a Hindu in the former city to another in the latter, its entrainment for the journey was telegraphed by the sender to the receiver in the equivalent of these terms:—"Her Holiness just booked by the — a.m. train to Byculla [a suburb of Bombay]; please be at the station at — p.m. to receive Her Holiness."

tomentosa], and taken up his breakfast of *javari* or *bajri* cakes, cooked by his wife the day before, and tied up by her overnight in a cloth with an onion, or some pickle, he strolls off at daybreak, keeping his oxen before him, to his fields. There yoking the oxen, and stripping to his work, whether it be to plough and to sow, or to reap,[1] he works on for a steady hour until eight o'clock ; and again, after ten or twenty minutes spent in eating his breakfast, for four hard fagging hours more until midday.

Ere yet he leaves his home, the voice of his wife is heard singing as she grinds out from the hand-mill the supply of flour for the day. This done, and the rooms all swept out and fresh cow-dunged, and the *tulsi* plant before the porch perambulated, and her own breakfast eaten, she cooks the dinner,—consisting of fresh-baked cakes of *bajri* or *javari* meal, and either a mess of pulse porridge, or a pot of highly spiced pulse soup—she must be careful to carry to her husband by twelve o'clock. The cultivators within hail of each other generally take this meal together ; and after the four hours from breakfast spent in the furrows, or amongst the stubble, they devour it with obvious zest of appetite, joking and laughing heartily all the time : so true is it of the peasant proprietor's independent life all the world over :—

> " Pingue solum lassat, sed juvat ipse labor."[2]

Thus from half an hour to an hour is spent ; and then up to two or half-past two o'clock, the men lie down to sleep, lying where they had eaten, on their *cumblis*, or out-of-door woollen wrappers. While they sleep, the women dine off the scraps that are left, and then either at once return to their household duties and to prepare the supper, or,

[1] Compare " nudus ara, sere nudus " of Virgil's *Georgics*, I, 299 ; and Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 390.

[2] Compare " Robustus fossor rege est felicior." Also the culminating precept of Hesiod's " points of good husbandry " : " The hard-working cultivator is beloved alike by mortal man and the immortal gods " (*Works and Days*, 309–10).

before doing so, spend an hour or two assisting their husbands in the fields.

When the men awake they re-yoke the oxen, and resume their work for three hours more, or until the sun sets, at which signal they return in long winding lanes towards their respective villages, walking along leisurely, chatting and laughing, and always keeping their oxen before them. On reaching their homes, they at once tie up the cattle, and then, after bathing and again worshipping the household gods, the husband at eight o'clock partakes of his supper of pulse porridge.

After this the social life within the village—a life lived here, and now, and in every homeliest detail, with God and immortality—suddenly bursts into its brightest, happiest activity. The temples of the gods are in turn all visited : those of Mahadeo, " the Great God," meaning Siva, and Bhairava, an incarnation of Siva, and of Hanuman, and any other of the lesser gods to whom there may be temples, or shrines, or altars, or but upraised, ruddled stones ;—and these last are everywhere.

Hanuman, or " Long-Jaw," is the favourite village god. Originally he was possibly the *totem* of the Vindhyan races of Central and Southern India ; and he is adopted as their representative in the Ramayana. But in the official pantheon of the Brahmans he is a sort of satyr leader of the oreads and dryads of the wooded mountains and hills and dales of the Malabar coast and Gondwana : and as Arcadian Pan was the son of Hermes, so Hanuman is the son of Pavana, " the Vagrant," " Vagabond " wind, or a personification of Vayu,[1] who is " the Wind " also. He represents the sun as he seems, to those who pass through the forests of the Sahyadris, to leap from tree to tree above

[1] Ariel is possibly, and aerial certainly, a form of Vayu ; and both Vayu and [Pa]-vana are radically related ; our English words wind, winnow, winter, etc., being more closely cognate with the former ; and vague, vagrant, voyage, fan [" vannus," *êventalle*], way, wain, waggon, etc., with the latter.

them. The gleams of light that shine suddenly on the wayfarer's path through dark woods ; the pleasurable earth-born glow that springs up in the youthful heart at the sight of the luxuriance of Nature ; and again the feeling of awe that at times seizes the lonely traveller on suddenly coming on some uncanny spot—all these are Hanuman. Again, he is the lengthening shadows that steal at sunset through forests and across valleys, and from one hill-top to another.

The vocal cloud of dust that swept from Eleusis towards the Grecian fleet at Salamis, like a wafted echo of the songs of the Mysteries, the Hindus would probably interpret as a higher apparition of Hanuman. He is, indeed, the local personification of the vital power of Nature in its more familiar and more playful manifestations and emotions ; and these the Hindus as naturally represent by a monkey as the Semites of Anterior Asia represented them by the wild goat, the *atadu* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and *atud* of the Hebrews ; names from which, through their Greek form, we derive the word satyr. Thus in Western, Southern, and Central India, Hanuman is everywhere the favourite divinity of the lower agricultural classes ; whose innocent gaiety of heart, so promptly responsive to all the pleasanter conditions of their life, he precisely personifies : and in the Deccan villages the vicinity of his temples is always of an evening a popular rendezvous.

Every month, moreover, and indeed almost every week, some religious anniversary is celebrated ; the principal among the agricultural communities of the Deccan being the following five :—

1. The Holi, or Saturnalia of the spring equinox, held towards the end of March.

2. The Dasara, or "Tenth," held early in October, when, after nine days of mourning for the ravages of

Mahesh-asura—"the Buffalo-headed demon," from whom the State and city of Mysore take their name—on the tenth day, in joy for his destruction, by Bhavani, all the villagers, the higher and lower "twelve" hereditary village officials, the Brahmans, the whole body of the cultivators, and even the occasional Mahometan "sacrificer" or butcher within their gates, proceed in their gayest costumes to perambulate the village boundaries, and to worship the trees planted there, more especially the *apta* [Bauhinia tomentosa], and, where it grows, also the *palas* [Butea frondosa]. On this day also the Mahrattas of the great historic families celebrate the declaration of "The Great War in Bharata," the "epos" of the *Mahabharata*, between the Pandavas and their paternal cousins the Kauravas. Heralded by the arousing, archaic sounds of shawms and bagpipes and kettledrums—the last often mounted on a camel,—they sally forth from their palaces into the westward wild ["jungle"] in long, leisurely advancing cavalcades, their horses in full caparison of war, but festooned over their trappings with flowers; and themselves garlanded and crowned with flowers; and their spears, of many-coloured fluttering pennons, all hung with flowers. As they move along, gathering from every *pulas* tree they pass its yellow blossoms, on turning, at the gloaming, homeward, they joyfully heap them on every woodland altar, or ruddled stone, by the wayside, calling them "gold" [*sona*],—as much as to say: "It would be gold—if we had it—that we would heap on you with the like largess of heart." And wherever these gallant Mahratta princes ride that day, in their ecstatic vision, the good Lord Sivaji rides on before.

3. The Devali, or "Feast of Lanterns" [literally "Lamprows"], held twenty days after the Dasara, and celebrated amid the greatest rejoicings in honour of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, as the goddess of "Good Luck," and of Sarasvati, the consort of Brahma, and

goddess of learning, and protectress of bank-books, ledgers, and all money accounts. These three solemnities are commemorated by all classes of the community.

4 and 5. The two remaining festivals are kept up exclusively by the women, namely, the Nag Panchami, on July 25, in honour of the destruction of the serpent Kali by Krishna ; and the Gauri, on August 25, in honour of Parvati in her epithet of Gauri, "the Yellow-Haired." The latter is specially observed by making up sweetmeats in the shape of round balls and eating a couple of them before going to bed. For two months beforehand songs in honour of Gauri are nightly rehearsed by the women. Their principal employment, however, of an evening is in visiting from house to house, arranging the marriages in the village, and settling the names of the latest-born babies. Every Mahratta family has its crest, and no marriages can take place between families having the same crest—a clear survival of totemism.

The Mahratta women of the *rayat* class, although they soon lose the good looks of their girlhood, are a fine, healthy race, tall and straight, modest, frank, and chatty ; and in their yellow, or shot-red and purple, bodices [*choli*], and dark green, or indigo-blue robes [*sari*], are everywhere, in the fields, or in the village streets, welcome objects to the artistic eye. The ladies of the higher castes, and particularly the *Deshast* Brahmanis, are very comely, although not so fair as their *Konkanast* sisters. They are all known at a glance by their great beauty and richer clothing ; and as one of them sweeps past [ἑλκεσίπεπλος] in her flowing *sari* of crimson, gold-bordered, nothing can be nobler than its glow against her olive flesh-tints, as it waves round her stately figure, and ripples in gold about her dainty feet, a study worthy of a Lombard master's canvas. And πυγοστόλος also is there, loitering in the shadows of the big temple, not illicit, degraded, and

depraved, but a recognised institution, established, endowed, and sacramental.

A great deal of conversation also goes on every evening with the village astrologer, especially as to the right day and hour for sowing the different kinds of crops; and it is quite surprising to find the full and accurate knowledge the humblest husbandmen show, in these consultations, of the exact time the sun enters the successive signs of the zodiac, whereby the sowing of rice, wheat, barley, *bajri*, *javari*, and every other sort of grain, pulse, and oil seed, etc., is scrupulously regulated.[1] They prove themselves indeed as much at home around and about the zodiac, and among the burning stars, as in their own beloved fields, and with their conversable cows and calves and ploughing oxen; and the picturesque, Propertian[2] epigram:—

"Nauta de stellis, de bobus arator"—

is foiled of its antithesis in any reference to them.

All this intercourse conducted on the most familiar terms between the members of the same township, and in the open streets, by the light of the flaring oil lamps set, or hung, in every portico, and of the pillar of lamps, when occasionally lighted, before one or other of the temples, is of the most unaffected and cheering sociability:—

"—— that after, no repenting draws."

By ten o'clock nearly everybody has gone to bed; except that when the songs of Tukaram, or the stories from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are sung on moonlight evenings, these joyous, blameless *al fresco* reunions may be kept up to nearly midnight. Then the deepest night again closes on each village, and its dependent hamlets, until six o'clock the next morning.

[1] In the *Madras Mail*, July 9, 1908, will be found a most informing and most interesting article, signed C. H. R., on the Ritualism in Agriculture as observed by the Hindus of Southern India.

[2] "Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator;
Enumerat miles vulnera, pastor oves."—Propertius, ii. 1, 43–4.

Thus in the division of the twenty-four hours the Deccan *rayat* has, for the past 3,000 years, realised the vainly-hoped-for ideal of the English artisan, and at a twelfth of the cost :—

> " Eight hours to work,
> Eight hours to play,
> Eight hours to sleep,
> And eight *pennies* [not shillings] a day."

He has realised also, and in its fullest security, the ideal co-operative life of the day-dreams of the Socialists of the West. And is not this co-operative agricultural life of the people of India high farming in its noblest sense ?

Pliny, writing on the *Maxims of Ancient Agriculture* (bk. xviii. ch. 8), asks : " In what way, then, can land be most profitably cultivated ? " and answers : " Why, in the words of our agricultural oracles, ' by making good out of bad.' " He adds, " But here it is only right that we should say a word in justification of our forefathers, who, in their precepts on this subject, had nothing else in view but the benefit of mankind, for when they used the term ' bad ' here, they only mean to say that which cost the smallest amount of money. The principal object with them was, in all cases, to cut down expenses to the lowest possible sum." And further on, he quotes, " that maxim of Cato, as profitable as it is humane : ' Always act [in farming] in such a way as to secure the love of your neighbours.' "

The enactments embodied in the Code of Manu, and cognate law books of the Hindus, have achieved this consummation for India from before the foundations of Athens and Rome. Through all that dark backward, and abysm of time, we trace there the bright outlines of a self-contained, self-dependent, symmetrical, and perfectly harmonious industrial economy, deeply rooted in the popular conviction of its divine character, and protected, through every political and commercial vicissitude, by the

absolute power and marvellous wisdom and tact of the Brahmanical priesthood. Such an ideal social order we should have held impossible of realisation, but that it continues to exist, and to afford us, in the yet living results of its daily operation in India, a proof of the superiority, in so many unsuspected ways, of the hieratic civilisation of antiquity over the secular, joyless, inane, and self-destructive, modern civilisation of the West. Of a truth, it is in the contemplation of the practical workings of this socialistic system of the Code of Manu that the sympathetic Englishman in India drinks deepest of the bliss of knowing others blest.[1]

And this is the " unhappy India " of the writers on that country, who know not the things that really belong to her peace, and have acquired all their knowledge of it from " Statistical Abstracts " and " Blue Books." Unhappy India, indeed! I might rather bemourn the unhappiness of England, where faith for nearly four centuries has had no fixed centre of authority; where political

[1] The late Mr. B. M. Malabari, the sanest and most sympathetic of native Indian [Parsi] "reformers," devoted the whole prime of his life to the advocacy of a rehabilitation of the Panchayat System [i.e. Council of, nominally, 5, *panch* :—compare "punch," the Anglo-Indian "brose" or brew of 5 ingredients—spirit, limejuice, sugar, spice, and water;—and the Greek "punch," πενταπλόα,—the words *panch*, πέντε or πέντα, and five, being all one word, originally meaning "outspread"—like the hand with its five fingers] in Indian villages; but his efforts were in vain. It is a proverbial saying in India :—"In the Panchayat is God!" We speak of "the Wisdom of Parliament"; but that is sarcastic-wise, and with reference to the "Parliament of Dunces," the "Addled Parliament," the "Mad Parliament," etc. Nothing could be more fair, and reasonable, and beneficent, than our regulations for raising the land revenue in India, and they compare favourably with the rule of the Mahrattas and other Hindu princes, who levied from their Muslim subjects,—including the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Emperor of Delhi, one-fourth of the assessed value of their crops,—the *chauthai*, or "chout" of which one reads so much in English works on India of late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries. But even the *chauthai* was not so onerous as is often represented; for in closely parallel circumstances the Spartans took one-half of their crop values from the Helots, and the Athenian Eupatridæ one-sixth from the Attic Thetes. They all gained from the assessments being fixed—at least when there were no droughts!

factions rage so furiously that men seem to have lost all sense of personal dignity and public shame, confusing right with wrong, and wrong with right, and excusing the vilest treasons against the commonwealth on the plea of party necessity ; where every national interest is sacrificed to the shibboleth of unrestricted international competition ; and where, as a consequence, agriculture, the only sure foundation of society, languishes ; and the peaceful plough, the mainspring of industrial activity, no longer holds its proper place of public honour and pre-eminence :—and no longer is heard throughout our land, from far across the freshly fluted furrows, the lulling lilts of the lowly ploughman, who, as he sturdily plods his heavily clodded way :—

> " Sweetens his labour with some rural song."

The truth is that closet publicists and politicians, trained in the competitive economic principles of the West, do not sufficiently distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the felicity of its inhabitants. Indeed, they do not discern the distinction. They dwell with their books, and not among the people ; and that men do not live by bread alone is one of the strongest facts of life in India absolutely hidden from their eyes.

What we call prosperity exists only in figures, and has no place in the personal experience of the vast masses making up the population of the so-called " progressive " nations of the West. It merely means the accumulation of amazing wealth in the hands of a few, by the devouring, wolfish spoliation of the many ; and in its last result, the bitter, stark, and cruel contrast presented between the West End of London and the East. And do Europe and America desire to reduce all Asia to an East End ?

Happy India ! where all men may still possess themselves in natural sufficiency and contentment, and freely find their highest joys in the spiritual beliefs, or, let it be,

illusions, that have transformed their trade-union organisation into a veritable "Civitas Dei."[1]

Happy India, indeed! But how long before the Saturnian reign shall be brought to the same end in India as it was in Europe four centuries ago? The sight of our manufacturing and commercial wealth, the fruit of our competitive civilisation, so deceptively beautiful without, but within full of gall and ashes, like the apples of Sodom, has inflamed the people of India, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Bombay, with the same insatiable greed of gold as the opulence of Rome excited in the barbarians who were provoked by it—"the Nibelungs' gold"—to the destruction of the Empire; and wherewith again the ancient and mediæval fables of "the Riches of the East" inflamed the avarice, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of the renascent nations of the West, and lured them on, in speculative quest of India, to the huge invention of the Americas.

Through this contact between the East and the West at the Presidency towns, the traditionary ideal of life among the Parsis and Hindus is gradually becoming superseded by the Western ideal—according to which the basis of all social advancement, and the standard of all moral worth, is the possession of money. That hangs on the hazard of a crude competition, in the prizes whereof but

[1] "Where every one has his divinely co-ordinated place, and his security, and honour, and content therein; and no one is envious of another's higher estate, and reverence and happiness; where God is sought, and is found, and is magnified in everything; and where every one seeking and ensuing every other's good, realises for all the perennially inspiring human vision of a New Heaven and a New Earth."—St. Augustine, De C.D., xxii. 29, 30 *précis*-ed. Long may "God stay them in that felicity" in India—no wan hope—notwithstanding present appearances there! "Sinister omens" are, after all, sent from the right hand of the gods; and thanks to the wary wisdom and deft dexterity of the Brahmans as "men of affairs," concessions towards representative government of the English type to India, may yet serve to revivify and reinvigorate, and definitively restore to them their pristine powers, and salutary, because natural supremacy, throughout the country.

few, of the many called, are chosen to participate. Thus in the place of the old-world content with the conditions of existence, we are arousing in India a universal spirit of discontent, the characteristic incentive of modern civilisation, and have needlessly exaggerated it through the malign influences of the fastidiously secular system of eleemosynary education enforced by us on the country. The sinister shadow, as of the legendary Upas tree, on Western civilisation, is the slow poisoning, wherever it becomes rooted, of the vital atmosphere of the spiritual life latent in our human nature ; and there was no necessity for anticipating, by a direct attack on the ancestral faiths of the people of India, led as it is by professedly Christian missionaries,[1] the inevitable catastrophe that has everywhere dogged the steps of exclusively material civilisations, and at last involved them in self-destruction.

Examining in 1863 or 1864 some Parsi boys in the Fort School in Bombay, on my asking the meaning of the word " happiness," one of them instantly stretching out his arm toward me replied energetically, and with the applause of all his little class fellows :—" To make a crore of rupees [at that time equal to £1,000,000] in cotton speculations, and drive into [*sic*] a carriage and four."[2]—adding, however, in the yet uncorrupted spirit of the boundless philanthropy of the ancient Buddhism of Asia—" and to give away lakhs upon lakhs in charity " :—and as well in princely public benefaction, as in inexhaustible private done and dole. Many years ago a distinguished Bengali Brahman, to whom I was pointing out that he was not in the least obliged to break formally with the religion of his forefathers because he was an " Agnostic," replied :— " You do not understand. It is not simply your education

[1] The first and best triumphs of Christianity were won by absorbing and transmuting the classical paganism of Greece and Rome, and not by arrogantly defaming it. The true destiny of Christianity in India is not to reprehend and destroy, but to amend and regenerate Hinduism.

[2] " Quadrigis petimus bene vivere."—Horace, *Ep.*, i. 11, 20.

that has made me an Agnostic ; I have rather been forced to become one by the high standard of civilised life you have set up in India. I really cannot afford to be a Hindu, and spend so much as a good Hindu must on his 'undivided family,' and in general charity—not if I am to keep up appearances, on the same income as Christian and Muslim gentlemen, who have no such compulsory demands on their means."

Thus the lesson of the Indian plough, if rightly read, goes deep ; and he who runs may read it ;[1] and the deepest gulf before England is that we are ourselves digging, by forcing the insular institutions of this country on the foreign soil of India,—India of the Hindus. That is the special lesson of the English steam-plough laid up, in divinity, in the Jamkhandi State.

[1] And verily, "he may run who readeth it."

SETT PREMCHUND ROYCHUND[1]

I FIND it impossible to respond to the invitation to write for the *Indian Magazine and Review* any adequate account of the life of the late Premchund Roychund. As for the mere chronicle of his wonderful career, I can add nothing to the admirable abstract of it in the obituary notice of *The Times* of October 3, 1906; while for personal reminiscences of him—I was so intimately "at the back" of the whole private history of "the Bombay Share Mania of 1861–5," and so confidentially in the counsels of Mr. Premchund Roychund as a civic benefactor, that I have made it a sacred rule never to publish any of the incidents and circumstances of the time to which, merely through my privileged relations with individual persons and personages, I became privy. There is always a grave wrong, and, as between man and man, an unpardonable wrong, involved in such revelations, toward those of one's fellow-sufferers in misfortune who have meanwhile died, and cannot reply to the injustice directly or indirectly and intentionally or unintentionally done to their good name and fame. I will therefore restrict myself to an appreciation of the late Sett Premchund Roychund's character and individuality, as they impressed me, now over fifty years ago.

He was essentially a spiritual being; and so simple and elemental in his nature that he might have passed for a sprite but for his dutiful and devout sense of responsibility toward the Unknown Power that works throughout the

[1] Contributed to the *Indian Magazine and Review*, November, 1906; reproduced in Mr. D. E. Wacha's biography of Premchund Roychund (Bombay: 1913).

worlds for righteousness. He was playful as a kitten, and an irrepressible optimist ; with an energy in every look and movement that flashed wireless messages to all around and about him a generation before they were invented by Marconi. That is how the man Premchund Roychund was born. But he was bred a *sravak* [" hearer," of the doctrine of Buddha] Jaina, that is a layman Jaina, or Brahmanised Buddhist, having no belief, at least in the form of creed and dogma, in a personal God ; holding the Universe to be self-existing, and in ceaseless flux, and imperishable ; and every intelligent and responsible being in it capable of rising through the practice of self-negation, and of good-will and helpfulness towards others, to the highest height of spiritual perfection and beatitude. And Premchund Roychund was this *sravak* Jaina indeed, a man in whom there was no guile ; and, when his heart was set on any generous and beneficent work, " full of the spirit of God." He was quite a little man,—of the race of Piccolomni,—lithe of figure, his every muscle always at " attention,"—ready to act ; with keen, bright eyes ; and an expression of face yearning and resolute, as always on the alert to take promptly and irrevocably the step determined on. He thought out any question before him with electric rapidity, and his decision on it was always clearly formulated, and put into operation ere yet the fateful words were well out of his mouth :—and those familiar with him knew beforehand, by the sudden jerk of his left arm, with a snap of the fore and middle fingers backward, or of his right arm forward, whether the decision was in the negative or the affirmative. In either case he threw up his head smiling (the angelic smile of an Italian child), his eyes looking straight into your eyes.

When considering some public benefaction his vote was invariably,—in my experience,—in the affirmative : and when he himself initiated the proposal, he would, on my suggestion, at once cap it with the requisite provision for

worthy architecture—a point I never failed to insist on all my life in Bombay. He never hesitated a moment. He was totally devoid of every form of worldly ambition. He had no greed of gold, no lust of riches : wealth with him was a divine trust, and through prosperity and through adversity he lived the same simple life,—that rather of a Jaina *yati*, or "ascetic," than a *sravak*. He was an absolute asarcolatrous dietarian. In his commercial activities there may possibly have been something of the vice of speculation ; but if so his pleasure was in the race run, not in the prize. The truth is Sett Premchund Roychund was, as I began by saying, essentially a spiritual entity ; and although, when not directly imbued with religious feeling, I recognised in him something of the joyous devilry of the irresponsible sprite, the predominant feature of his fiery spark of a soul was an unfeigned enthusiasm for humanity ever fervent and aflame with the twofold energy of an elemental force and an all-consuming spiritual passion.

When the crash came, Premchund Roychund was day after day in the Press of all India a man "full of the names of blasphemy" ; only Mr. William Martin Wood (1828–1907), who always as a journalist showed a strong sense of righteousness, stemmed the seething tide of detraction against him, and with all his authority as editor of *The Times of India*. I also, I am happy to recall to-day, contributed to the same faithful and just purpose, and as it proved with greater effect than I dreamt of, a parody of "'Tis better to have loved and lost, Than never to have loved at all." But the public rage was inevitable ; as in all such incalculable calamities a scapegoat has to be found for the sin of the whole people ; and I will not dwell on this phase of "the Bombay Share Mania of 1861–5." We had all sinned, and we all had our punishment for it, and on the whole we took it like men ; and Sett Premchund Roychund took it best of us all. "'Twas better to

have won and lost, Than never to have won at all," was the prevailing note of those terrible days.

I shall never forget the day and the scene when the first bolt fell. I was at a business meeting in the Fort, at the offices of one of the leading European "houses," and representatives of most of the other great firms were present; and of some of the philanthropic movements then in progress in Bombay. In the midst of the consideration of the schemes before them, a clerk presently brought in the telegram announcing the surrender of Lee's Army. For a moment a dead silence filled the room, which also seemed lighted up with a strangely unnatural light. (This optical effect on me happened again when reading the first *dépêche télégraphique* announcing the overthrow of the Second French Empire at Sedan, when the blaze of superb dahlias in the country garden near Boulogne in which I at the moment stood, in the twinkling of an eye, took on an uncanny metallic lustre, as if painted in enamels.) But in another moment or two some one at the meeting said: "Well, it's a good thing to be made to sit up to your business once again": while Premchund Roychund on my leaving the room said to me: "This, Birdwood, means beginning my life over again": and he began his life over again that night. When swollen by unwonted rains Pactolus bursts its narrow, restraining banks, what man may withstand its gold-impounded flood? That is the absolution for all of us sinners of 1861–5; while for Premchund Roychund, the greatest benefactor Bombay ever knew, the bravest and the best of men, and the most fascinating character of Western India since *sargiya* Sivaji,—if nor storied urn, nor animated bust be raised in honour of his memory, it will still ever remain triumphantly true of him that:—"Stirring spirits live alone; Write on the other's, 'Here lies such an one.'"

THE RAJPUTS IN THE HISTORY OF HINDUSTAN[1]

I

Rajputana

" His hidden meaning dwells in our endeavours,
Our valours are our best gods."—John Fletcher, *Bouduca.*

WE stand at the parting of the way followed by us for the past 150 years in India ; and if we would take true divination of the goal, on the right hand or the left, whereto our searching arrows are winged, nothing could be more helpful to us than a close study of the character and the history of those who before us have held paramount power over the country,—the warrior caste of Rajputs, the priestly caste of Brahmans, and the fierce Ismailites [Arabs, Afghans, and Mo(n)gols] who held both in more or less complete subjugation throughout the 1,046 weird, penitentiary years preceding the revindication of Aryan supremacy in India under the broad sevenfold shield of the " British Raj." I here treat only of the Rajputs ; and on the basis of Miss Gabrielle Festing's *From the Land of Princes*, and Colonel James Tod's famous *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829–32). Miss Festing's book does for the stirring national traditions, and dynastic chronicles of Rajasthan, " the land of Kings," what Charles Kingsley and the Rev. Alfred J. Church did for the tales, from Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus, of the gods and heroes of ancient Greece. She has epitomised the bardic legends, or *rashas*, as they are

[1] In the original form this paper was the Preface to *From the Land of Princes*, by Miss Gabrielle Festing (London : Smith, Elder, 1904).—Ed.

termed by the Rajputs, or "Sons of Kings," first systematically gathered together for English readers by James Tod; who, going out to Calcutta at the impressionable age of seventeen, after serving in the Intelligence Department of the Army during the operations undertaken by Lord Hastings in 1817 against the Pindaris, was appointed in 1818 Political Resident at Udaipur, the capital, in succession to Chitor, "the Painted," of Mewar, "the Midward"[1] of Rajasthan.

The Hindus hold the Maharana, or "Great-King" of Udaipur, as the reputed descendant, in the direct line of primogeniture, of the eponymous hero of the *Ramayana*, and, of divine right, the absolute head of the Solar Rajputs, to be sacrosanct above all other Rajputs. These Solar Rajputs, with the Lunar Rajputs, or descendants of the kin Kaurava and Pandava Princes, the antagonistic heroes of the *Mahabharata*, constitute the *Kshatriya* [cf. "Satrap"] or "Sovereign" caste, the second, after the *Brahmana* or "Priestly" caste, of the three "Twice-born" sections [the third being the *Vaishya* or "Settled" caste of traders], into which the primitive Aryan invaders of India, under the operation of the natural and economic influences, systematised by the Code of Manu, and similar law books of the Hindus, became separated; the fourth Brahmanical caste of *Sudra*, or "Shattered-serfs," representing the subjugated aborigines,[2] or, at least, the pre-Aryan people of the country.

[1] The Hindus designate the whole country between the valley of the Indus and the valley of the Jamna and Ganges, and between the Himalaya and the Vindhya Mountains, *Madhya-desa*, i.e. "the Middle Land"; the Mahrattas apply the term to the country between the Konkans and Khandesh; while all Hindus refer to the cradle of their race in Central Asia as *Madhya-bhumi*, i.e. "the Middle Earth." The Sikhs similarly name the land round about Lahore, as the original home of their sect, *Manja*, a local form of the Sanskrit *madhya*; this word, over all India, also meaning the land between any two villages, "the Hub of the Universe" for each village. "Media" is probably the same word.

[2] The word used in the *Mahabharata* and the *Rig-Veda* for the people the Vedic Aryas found in India is *daysu*, the equivalent of the Hindustani

Seventy miles westward from Udaipur, at the angle formed by the northward emergence of the Aravali Hills from the Vindhya [" Dividing " between Hindustan and the Deccan] Mountains, towers, to the height of 5,650 feet above the sea, the abrupt dome of Mount Abu [Arbuda], famous for its Jaina temples; similar to the wonderful Jaina temples, rising terrace upon terrace, up the slopes of the Satrunjaya Hill in Kathiawar—all of white marble, sculptured outside and inside, both pillars and roofs, with the finish and refinement of carved ivory or ebony, an ecstasy in the art of mystical architecture : " a Satanic mockery "—as the Reverend Dr. John Wilson, with pardonable professional prejudice, once pronounced them—" of that heavenly Jerusalem whereinto shall nowise enter any thing that defileth." This cone, the *guru-sikhar*, " Saint's Sanctuary " [literally " Pinnacle "] of the Jainas, is the culminating point of the Aravalis [literally " Row of Peaks," " Stockade "]; the " strong Refuge " of the Rajputs when overwhelmed in the flood of the successive Mahometan invasions of India from the eighth to the eighteenth century A.D.; and again when, driven by outrageous oppressions, senselessly prosecuted through successive centuries, they from time to time revolted against the Afghans and the Great Mo(n)gols.

From Mount Abu the Aravali Hills range boldly north-eastward, straight as an arrow, through the midst of

deshi, i.e. " of the country " ; but the Vedic and Epic term *daysu* includes brown Hamites [Dravidas], and yellow Turanians [aboriginal Bangalas], as well as absolute autochthons, probably, of the Negroid [blackish] colour of the Andamanese. The Sanskrit word for " caste " is *varna*, literally " colour " ; and caste, in its origin, was the colour-line between white and brown, and white and yellow, and white and black, men in India ; and between shades of these mixed colours ;—the Sanskrit word for the innumerable Brahmanical sub-castes of the present day being *varna-sankhara*, and meaning, simply, " colour-intermixture," " colour-confusion." In the phrasing of ethnologists, India west of the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna, and southward into Gujarat and Kathiawar is " India Alba " ; east of this confluence and on into Burma, " India Flava"; and Southern India, the Carnatic, " India Nigra."

Rajputana, "the Land of Princes" [called also Rajwara,[1] "the Ward—the Dwelling-Place of Princes"], for about 200 miles; whereafter they begin to decline from their pre-eminence, and become more and more disconnected; cropping up again in the historic "Ridge" at Delhi, 360 miles north-east of Udaipur, before they finally disappear under the alluvium of the plain of the Jamna. As now restricted to the States lying between the Indus and the Jamna, a little less than one-half of Rajasthan—that is Marwar [Jodhpur], Jeisalmir, Bikanir, and Sirohi—lies to the westward of the Aravalis, and is watered only in Marwar and Sirohi, by the "Salt" Luni, as it flows southward to the Rann, or salt- "Waste" of Cutch; and a little less than one-half—that is Mewar [Udaipur], Amber [Jaipur], Kotah with Bundi [Haraoti], etc., watered by the many affluents of the Chambal, as it flows north-eastward to the Jamna—lies to the eastward of these hills. The British province of Ajmir, "Aja's Hill," with Mairwara, "the Highland-ward" [compare Mount Meru], extends over the middle third of their crest; the City of Ajmir, dominated by Taragar ["Star-garth"] 2,855 feet above the level of the sea, making the point wherefrom the Aravali Hills begin to decline toward Delhi.

Situated on the verge of the Tropic of Cancer, Rajputana falls within the Northern Solstitial Zone; the desert tracts of Persia, Syria, Arabia, the Sahara of Northern Africa, and the *Tierra caliente* of Mexico, marking other, so to say, broken links of the Earth's close clinging girdle ["shingles"] of fire and famine. Where not an absolute desert, as in the Thul, i.e. "The Deadly-region," between the Luni and the Indus, and parts of Marwar,[2] i.e. the

[1] The familiar Rajput denomination of Rajputana is Rajvara; *vara* here not being used in the sense of "ward" exactly, nor of "heaven" [cf. "pan-orama"] or "property" [cf. Trolsworthy in Devonshire], but rather of "warren," with the meaning of "our own endeared homeland."

[2] The etymologies of these place-names are of themselves indicative of the nonsense of the denunciations of the British Government as the

"Death-ward," or "Grave-yard," Rajputana is still an arid, and, for the most part, sterile land; but relieved within the morning and afternoon shadows of the Aravalis,—intermittently along the banks of the brackish Luni, and continuously, and in greater breadth, in the courses of the Chambal and its contributories,—by green tracts of wild woodlands and herbage, and of cultivated fields and orchards and pleasing gardens; and further diversified by the mediæval walled towns, uprising on the rock-crested ridges of sand rippled over the wide extended plains, like so many islands; or so many huge turreted ironclads riding grimly at anchor, moored by two anchors, on a swelling sea. Vast herds of camels and horned cattle, and innumerable flocks of sheep, ever in search of new pastures, freely wander about everywhere; and behind all is the more or less distant background of the everlasting Aravali Hills with their shimmering peaks of white and rose-coloured quartz. The varied prospect—with its contrasts so harshly accented by the dry glitter of a sub-tropical midday—as seen embalmed and harmonised in the softer amber light of morning, or suffused with the refreshing rosy flush of evening, is at once transfigured to a fairy land. In a moment, one's own soul is brought face to face with, as it were, the very soul of the soil, and

generators of Indian famines and plagues. But the Government of India have only themselves to thank for this popular superstition of the last fifty years' genesis. When I was ordered to compile the weekly rain returns for the whole Presidency of Bombay,—which I dutifully did for nearly a decade "in the 'sixties,"—I protested against their being made public through the official *Gazette*, as I had before protested against the publication of the mortuary returns; and on the express ground that the people of India had always devoutly resigned themselves to droughts, and famines, and plagues, as dispensations of the Almighty; but that if my "Monsoon Rainfalls" were gazetted, thenceforward the blame of these disasters would surely be put upon the Government, to their grievous discredit, and the ever-increasing discontent of the subject-peoples. But the witty Secretary to the Government of Bombay, in their General Department, simply replied:—"Thy much learning doth turn thee to madness"; using, indeed, the old and not the new phrasing of the text. The event has shown that I but spoke words of truth and soberness. And since then the weekly publication of the plague returns has wrought us infinite harm.

its foster-children, and their history, and their autochthonous gods,—the gods of the land;[1] and the impression thus suddenly created by the transient scene abides for ever.

At Udaipur young James Tod was fascinated by everything around him; by the spiritualising picturesqueness of the landscapes; the gay colourings of the palatine cities—the white and green of their painted houses, the rose madders, and other reds, and lemon and saffron yellows, and cobalt and indigo blues of the nodding turbans, and swaying girdles, and twinkling shoes, of the white-robed people in the spacious streets; the vermilion, and Chinese yellow, and indigo blue flags of all the gods, fluttering among the green trees in every air of heaven that breathes about the frequent temple spires; by the lofty palaces of the Rajput Princes, and the stately splendour of their military courts, and their own manly, gallant bearing, and fine "civility of manners, arts, arms, and long renown." Beyond all else he was moved by their old feudal fortresses, and the shrines and temples of their gods, instinctively adapted as these are to the sentiment of the country and its inhabitants, and their chivalresque history. Seen day by day in sunshine and shadow, and month after month in all the glamour of the full moons of India, and sketched and painted over and over again by himself, it was the aerial architecture of the visionary summits and peaks of the Aravali Hills that, to the subjective sensibility of James Tod, touched Rajputana with supreme enchantment. With an industry, assiduity, and perseverance only enthusiasm fed on "the corn of heaven" could so strenuously have sustained, he devoted whatever leisure official duties permitted during the years 1818–22, to the study of the physical geography, ethnography, and history of Rajputana; and of the social, political, and religious system under which it had been governed by its famous

[1] II. Kings xvii. 25–7.

princes; and to the collection of their genealogies and family legends and traditions, as these are found epitomised and embodied in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* This work is an inexhaustible storehouse of the known and accessible information of the Rajputs and of Rajasthan, as limited by the modern official connotation of Rajputana. Although in the present day its author's conclusions on certain moot points of obscure ethnology and obscurer etymology may be questioned, it remains the standard history, and will always remain the classical history, of Rajasthan. It is simply amazing how its author could have amassed the materials for its production, and reduced them from chaos to the fair and lucid order in which they are found in his pages, and within the years, that were also otherwise well-laboured years, of his all too brief life; for he died in 1835, at the age of 53. But the work, contained in two bulky volumes, in imperial 8vo, has long been out of print, and is rarely to be found even in the catalogues of the sales of second-hand books. Moreover, it is too solid and preoccupying reading for the present day of superficial knowledge and professorial culture. It is "*caviare* to the general," and outside the British Museum and our University Libraries is now rarely found except in the houses of families that have inherited copies from relatives connected with the Honourable East India Company; standing beside the treasured *Oriental Memoirs* of James Forbes, the grandfather of Montalembert, the *History of the Mahrattas* of James Grant Duff, the father of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, and the *Ras Mala* of Alexander Kinloch Forbes: three books that any one responsibly associated with the Indian Empire should read, and ever keep at hand, or for ever hold his tongue on India.

Miss Festing's *From the Land of Princes* would, therefore, have been more than justified if only for its attracting wider attention to a work of such rare originality

and authority as Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, a veritable " Open Sesame " to the heart and mind and soul of the great and sacrosanct military caste of India ; and the only Hindu caste with any quickening and controlling traditions of political power and responsibility. But her handy volume has its own independent value, in the very qualification of affording a clear insight into the character and ideals of the Rajput Princes which renders Tod's two unwieldy volumes invaluable for those who would acquire a true understanding of the people of India. Her collection of stories is all from definite and unimpeachable family traditions and documents, selected with careful discrimination, in the diligently observed order of their proper chronology and topography. In the things that are profitable for inspiration and example, and therefore alone essential to historical teaching, they are faithful transcripts in prose of the *rashas*, or " bardic annals " of Mewar, Marwar, Amber (Jaipur), Haraoti [Bundi and Kotah], and Jeisalmir. Miss Festing's book, therefore, cannot but exert a salutary influence in promoting in this country a more intimate knowledge, and a more intelligent comprehension of India, and in arousing among us a feeling of generous and romantic sympathy with the noble *Kshatriya* caste of Rajputs,—and of radical brotherhood with the " Twice born " castes of Hindus generally, Brahman, and Rajput, and *Vaishya ;* who in blood, and brawn, and bone, and in their ineradicable virility, are one and the same Aryan people with ourselves. The very word that labels our ethnical unity with them is taken out of their own mouths, and in its original sense ; and amongst the earliest derivatives from it are the Sanskrit and Old Persian words signifying " brave " [cf. the Greek War-God Ares], and " truthful," and " noble " [cf. Greek ἄριστος], and " friendly."

The Aryas of the prime, as they descended on India from the *officina gentium*, some vague regions about

the Euxine, Caspian, and Aral Seas, the "seething pot, and the face thereof toward the North," of the perfervid vision of the prophet Jeremiah, may have been mixed of all the ethnical stocks, Caucasian or Noachian, and Scythian[1] of Central Asia; but without doubt they were predominantly of the Aryan or Japhetic stock, speaking the language from which Sanskrit and Zend [Old Persian], Greek and Gothic [Teutonic], Latin and Romance, have all been derived. As they pushed farther eastward across Hindustan, and later southward, down into the Deccan, "they set up every one his throne by the way," subjugating to themselves the Caucasian Hamites [represented by the Dravidas of Southern India] and Turanian ["Yellow" Scyths] and Nigritian [Negroid] peoples already in the peninsula. And as their paramount position was thus consolidated in the country, two things happened. They were no longer an army on the march. They had formed larger and smaller settlements, needing only a central garrison for their defence. Multitudes of the warriors thus fell out of occupation, and these, turning their energies to trading, in the process of the centuries became the *Vaishya* caste of Brahmanical India. It was a straightforward, frank solution of a pressing economic problem. But the development of the reproductive resources of a country and of mercantile relations with contiguous countries, has ever had a humanising influence on man; and the initiation of this process of national and social evolution by the unemployed Aryan warriors in India, proved the beginning, as in a grain of mustard seed, of the implacable and destructive conflicts that were to rage for centuries in a

[1] The Scyths of classical writers were not unmixed Turanians, or "Yellow-men." The "Royal Scyths" of Herodotus have many Aryan characteristics; and the Turks and Indian Mo(n)gols can hardly be distinguished in their physical, emotional, and intellectual features from pure Aryas. The true "Yellow," and the true "Black" races, are outside the Caucasian [Aryan, Hamitic and Semitic] or Noachian pale, and the genealogies of Noah. The Semites seem to have classed the Negroes as "monkey-brands."

far-off future between the commercial and internationalised Buddhists, and the priestly and emmordantly nationalised Brahmans, when as yet there were none of either of them.

At first every Arya was a king and priest unto himself, his family, and his state. But now and again a poet of genius had appeared among them, chanting his own improvisations to cheer his comrades on their ceaseless marchings and counter-marchings, or to rouse their courage on "the Field of Slaughter" to its highest fire. The "Hymns" of the *Rig-Veda*, the only true *Veda*, are the lyrical heart-burst of the devout joy of the Aryas (a transport of religious emotion that thrills the world to the present day), when, after their weary wanderings among the inhospitable uplands of Persia and Afghanistan, they at last stepped down into the immense extended, well-watered, and semi-tropical plains of the Panjab. A special reverence was rendered to such gifted men, and was continued to their children, and children's children, as the keepers, locked up within their trained and specialised memories, of these psalms and hymns and spiritual songs ; now regarded as, in themselves, the ever-living Word of God, and as arming their custodians with the prerogatives of actual divinity. The remaining fighting Aryas becoming more and more preoccupied with their administrative and military duties, whether as sovereign rulers or feudal vassals, the hereditary guardians of the Vedas, or sacred *rashas*, gradually monopolised the service of the priestly duties theretofore incumbent on every Arya to discharge personally, and thus became at length segregated as the caste of Brahmans from the similarly differentiated castes of *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*.

The usurping Brahmans, in their sacerdotal intolerance of the natural superiority of the Rajputs, sought to brand them with an artificial inferiority, not only by writing them down second in the order of their four theocratic

castes, but by striving, and on the whole with remarkable success, to impose upon them all manner of ceremonial disabilities. This is already indicated in the *Aitariya Brahmanam*, an Appendix to the *Rig-Veda*, giving for the guidance of the Brahmans the earliest glosses on the sacrificial prayers of the *Veda*, with speculations on their origin and explanations of their ritual. The English translation of this *Brahmana* by Martin Haug was published by the Government of Bombay in 1863, and in book VII., chapters iii., iv. and v., and book VIII. chapters ii., iii., iv. and v., we have a clear insight of the means used by the Brahmans, as increase of appetite grew by what it fed on, to magnify their sacred office, and exalt themselves over the Rajputs, not only in the sphere of their spiritual life, but in the very domain of their inherent and indefeasible temporal authority and power. The story of Parasu Rama, "Rama of the Axe," who "cleared the Earth twenty-eight times" of the *Kshatriyas*, and gave it—India —to the Brahmans, is another myth of the immemorial rivalry between the Brahmanical hierarchy and the *Kshatriya*, or Rajput regal stratocracy.

The irresoluble hostility of the Brahmans toward the *Kshatriyas* is shown also by the much later myth of the origin of the Agnikulas or "Fire (born) family" of Rajputs. They are said to have been raised by the royal and saintly Agasthya, the reputed author of so many of the "Hymns" of the *Rig-Veda*, from a sacramental fire kindled on the summit of Mount Abu [Arbuda], in the presence of a convocation of the whole college of Brahmanical gods. These Agnikulas are :—(1) the Paramaras, Pramaras, and Powers or Puars, i.e. "Premiers," of whom Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks, and the illusive Vikramaditya, the great champion of the Brahmans, are both claimed as members ; (2) the Pariharas, formerly of Marwar and Idar, but now found only in Central India, and the Deccan ; (3) the Chalukyas or Salunkis of ancient Ajodhya [Oudh],

and mediæval Saurashtra [Kathiawar and Gujarat, called also Valabhi or Balabhi], who are still represented by the Bhagela Rajputs of Rewa, the Jhala Princes of Dhrangadhra, Limri (or Limdi) and Wadwan in Kathiawar; and (4) the Chauhans of Rajputana and Malwa, of whom Prithvi-Raj of Delhi, Ajmir, and Lahore, the Paladin of the Rajputs in their earliest conflicts with the Mahometan invaders of India, is the most illustrious name, and who are at this day represented among the rulers in Rajputana by the Deoras of Sirohi, and the Haras of Haraoti [Kotah and Bundi].

The legend probably refers to the enlistment in the third and second centuries B.C. of Zoroastrian Persians and Pagan Greeks into the *Kshatriya* caste, as supporters of the Brahmans against the older recalcitrant *Kshatriyas;* or it may be simply an allegory of the hallowing of the warrior caste by the fire of their lives of devoted self-sacrifice. According to the traditions of the Rajputs, who claim to be descended from the *Kshatriyas* of the primitive Aryas of India, these are still represented in Rajputana, in the Solar line, by (1) the Grahilot, Gehelot or Sesodia Princes of Mewar [Udaipur], Dungarpar, Bansvara, and Shapura,—and the Gohil Princes of Bhavnagar and Palitana in Kathiawar are of the same clan; (2) the Kuchwaha Princes of Amber [Jaipur]; and (3) the Rathors [originally from Kanauj] of Marwar [Jodhpur], Kishenghar and Bikanir; and in the Lunar line, by (1) the Bhati Princes [descended, in the pedigrees of Yadavas or Jadons, from *Krishna*, the *deus ex machina* of the *Mahabharata*] of Jeisalmir; and (2) the Jadija or Jharija Princes of Cutch, Gondal, and Morvi, in Kathiawar.

Nevertheless, the Brahmans persist with the calumny that none of the primitive *Kshatriyas* survived the massacres of "Rama with the Axe," and that the Agnikulas, of their own creation, are the only Rajputs now existing in India. The contention is absurd. The Rajputs, who never lost

their pride of Aryan race, never hesitated to recruit their ranks by the admission of desirable aliens from over "the North-West Frontier," whether Greeks, or Sassanian Persians. A Greek prince is traced in the genealogical list of the Rathors of Kanauj and Mewar; and, in the fifth century A.D., one of his successors married the daughter of Barham Gaur [Varanes V]; and there is a tradition among the Gehelots of Mewar of an ancestress in the sixth century A.D. who was the granddaughter of one of the Christian Cæsars of Byzantium. My own opinion, based on persional knowledge of the men themselves, is that the purest Aryas of India are to be found among the Jainas, descendants of the Aryas who became *Vaishyas*, and then, influenced by the tenets of Buddhism, formed themselves into the heterodox sect of Vaishnava Hindus, named after "the twenty-four Victorious Jins" [cf. Arabic *jinn*, and "genii"], or deified saints, the objects of their especial worship. They form the prosperous and highly influential community of merchants and bankers known everywhere in Rajputana, Malwa, and Gujarat, by the style and title of *Mahajans;* and, soiled with all ignoble use by the money-lenders who have made the name of *Marvari* a byword throughout India, the appellation means, and still upholds, the ideals of a "great gentry."

Apart from coins, and inscriptions on temple walls and other enduring structures, and a vast number of "copper plates" commemorating grants to temples, and the registers, ledgers, and similar documents accumulated in the current business of administration, constituting the *chalta daftar* [literally "walking parchments," cf. διφθέρα of Greeks] used by Grant Duff when writing the *History of the Mahrattas*, the Hindus possess few authentic records, provided by themselves, of their own history. In attempting to reconstruct it, we have to depend on the arbitrary references to past events to be found, generally mytholo-

gised out of all recognition of their real form, in the *Vedas*, *Puranas* [" Olds "] and other sacred scriptures ; and in such secular romances as the *Prithviraj Chauhan Rasha* of Chand Bardai, the Poet Laureate of the last Hindu King of Delhi ; the *Raja Tarangini*, with its continuations [the *Rajavali* and others], of the Rajas of Kashmir, in the Kaurava line of the Lunar *Kshatriyas ;* and the *Raja Tarangini* of Amber [Jaipur], giving a similar list of the Kings of Indraprashta or Delhi, from Yudisthira, the eldest of " the Five Pandavas of the *Mahabharata*," to Vikramaditya of Ujain and Delhi, composed so late as the early part of the eighteenth century, for Savai Jai Sing, the builder, all in white marble, of the gracious city of Jaipur.

Mere facts, even the obvious convenience of cardinal dates, are quite beyond the scope of history as understood by Hindus, to whom its teachings, as apprehended and applied by themselves, would seem to have been all they ever cared to heed ; and wrested from the truth, and allegorised for doctrinal purposes as the actual events dealt with by them may be (this having been done with the sincerity of religious zeal), they have intuitively expressed their grateful sense of the dealings of Divine Providence with them, as a favoured people, in devotional, and epic, and ballad poetry, singing and making melody in their hearts to the great gods to whom they raise their soul-moving and animating strains of exaltation and blessing and glory in the highest. The composite " Sesostris " [Seti I and Ramses I, II, III] of the Greeks may have sent a naval expedition against Western India ; Darius Hystaspes certainly stretched out his sceptre over North-Western India, or Sindh and the Punjab ; but there is no definite date in Indian history, before that transmitted to us by the Greeks, of the crossing of the Indus near Attock [" the Limit "], in the midsummer of 329 B.C., by Alexander the Great ; while the continuous history of India, the earlier chapters of which we owe to the Mahometan writers

of Arabia and Persia, only begins with the momentous apparition of the conquering armies of Islam in Sindh, A.D. 711; at the very time [A.D. 713] that another Muslim army, under the one-eyed Tarik ibn Zayad, was striding the Straits of Gibraltar, "the Hill of Tarik" into Spain.

The millennium [1,037 years] between the advent of the Greeks and that of the Mahometans in India is a period of intolerable confusion for the systematic historian. But, viewed in the light of the following eleven centuries [1,111 years] of "the Mahometan Terror" in India, the conclusion is justifiable that the previous period was also ennobled by the like dauntless and indomitable resistance of the *Kshatriyas* to the Scyths—whether of the Turkman or the Mo(n)gol races, who then commenced to pour ceaselessly into India—as in after centuries they opposed to their Mahometan conquerors. The shadows of the mighty names of the period are, (1) Chandragupta [316–292 B.C.],—variously regarded as a Lunar *Kshatriya*, an Agnikula, and a *Vrishala*, or *Kshatriya* degraded to the status of a *Sudra*, for neglecting the service of the sacred rites, and to consult the Brahmans,—the "Sandracottus" who drove the Greeks out of the Punjab and Sindh, and married the daughter of Seleucus I; (2) his grandson Asoka [260–220 B.C.], the wilier Constantine of Buddhism; (3) Kanishka [either the last century B.C. or the first A.D.], another patron of Buddhism, whose reign marks the culmination of the political ascendancy of the Scyths,—Dhes [Dahæ], Jats [Getæ, Goths], Hunas [Huns], and others—in India; (4) Vikramaditya, i.e. "The Blazing Sun" of Righteousness, the Melchizedek of the Hindus, surnamed Sakhari, "the (slayer) of the Scyths" [Sakas or Takas]; and (5) Salivahana, a Mahratta potter of Paithan in Maharashtra, also surnamed Sakhari, from whom the Rajputs of Bezwara are descended. Both Vikramaditya and Salivahana are held to have been contemporaries with Kanishka, and are both revered by the Brahmans

as persecutors of the Buddhists, and the unresting, strenuous, and ever victorious assailants of the Scyths. Yet "the Saka Era," so named in honour of Salivahana, "the Slayer of the Scyths," commences A.D. 78, and the "Samvat Era," established in honour of Vikramaditya, commences in 57 B.C.; while the bloody battle of Korur, in which the Scyths were finally brought down by Vikramaditya from their paramountcy, is dated by the expert chronologists of Europe between A.D. 524 and 554.[1]

Such are the bewildering entanglements, obstructing the symmetrical treatment of Indian history between the exit of the Greeks from the darkened stage and the entrance upon it of the Mahometans. The Brahmans utterly ignore the invasion of Alexander the Great; and we only know that they did at the time recognise the presence of the Greeks in their midst from their including in their list of *Vrishalas,* a people they call the *Yavanas* [compare "Javan"], by whom they undoubtedly indicate the Greeks [i.e. "Ionians"], although this designation is found to include the Scyths, and even the Mahometans of Hindustan: in short, any *mlecha,* or white-faced "barbarian" from the North or West of India. In the form of *Jonakan* it is still applied in Southern India to the Mopla of Malabar.

Yavani was the title of the female servants of the harims of the earlier *Muslims;* and in the Southern Presidency of Madras, they are still so entitled, as also *Mughulani.* The word "*Javan*" in the Bible, sometimes translated in our A.V., by "Greciæ," "the Grecians," and "Greece," in some places, undoubtedly refers to Greece. The Hindustani for "young man" is *javan* [cf. Sanskrit *uva,* "young"], and "Javan" and "Ionian" may refer to the young Aryas who emigrated out of their

[1] I have been greatly assisted in working out these details by Mrs. W. R. Rickmer's *Chronology of India,* a work that calls for the most grateful acknowledgments of all students of Indian history; and worthy of a daughter of the great Free Kirk missionary to India, Alexander Duff.

over-peopled original home in N.W. Asia, eastward into Persia and India, and westward into Southern and Midland and Western Europe. The Turks call America "Yangi Dunia," "the Young World," and this may be the origin of our phrase "Yanki Doodle."

II

The Ismailites in India

The Arabs

Within four years of the death of "the Prophet of God," A.D. 632, the Caliph Omar built Bassora, in order to control the course of the lucrative trade of India, Persia, and Arabia with Europe; and in A.D. 647 the Caliph Othman sent ships from Bassora to reconnoitre the coasts of Western India between Broach, anciently Barygaza, the port of Saurashtra, and Thana, in mediæval times representing ancient Kalayana, and itself represented in our modern days by Bombay, the great emporium of Maharashtra, and the industrial and intellectual, although not the titular, capital of British India. But the Arabs, a Caucasian or Noachian race, and highly intellectual people, who had with the keenest alacrity and zest entered into the inheritance of all the wisdom of the Greeks, alike in the arts of war and peace, at once perceiving that before the opulent prize of India could be appropriated with any hope of its undisturbed retention, Afghanistan, the Barbican, or "Antemural" to the "Bayley-yard" of Hindustan, had to be permanently occupied, the Caliph Muaiwah I, A.D. 664, equipped an enormous army for the conquest of that country. To the accomplishment of this prescient and sagacious task fifty years of arduous and steadfast fighting were doggedly devoted; although in vain, for any perenduring advantage it was to bring to the Arabs.

A detachment from the force was at the same time sent, in charge of Mohalib, to make a reconnaissance of the

approaches into Sindh;[1] and when the military and religious reduction of the Afghans was sufficiently assured, the Caliph Walid I, after a survey of the coasts of Baluchistan, Mekran, and Sindh in A.D. 705, in A.D. 711 fitted out a naval expedition, under the command of Muhammad ibn Kasim, acting in co-operation with Hijaj, the Governor of Bassora, for the subjugation of Sindh. Muhammad Kasim sailed boldly up the Indus to Bakkar [some say he landed at Deval, "the Temple," near the modern Karachi], and thence marched on Alor, and after a brief campaign annexed the whole of Sindh, from the delta of the Indus to Multan, to the Ommiad Empire of Damascus. Dahir, the Rajput Deshpati, that is, "Despot" [*desh*, "land"; *pati*, "lord"], of the country, made a most determined defence; but in every implement of war he was hopelessly "out-classed" by the newly-gotten "Greek science" of the Arabs. There is presented to the eye all the picturesque pageantry of Agincourt, as illuminated on the pages of Michael Drayton: the brave show, in the brilliant sunshine, of lines upon lines of glittering steel, and flapping banners, and fluttering banderolles, of every "tincture," each with its own "armings"—not one

"But something had pight that something should express,"—

and of gorgeous trappings and caparisons of horses and horsemen, and camelry, and towered elephantry, in their

[1] Sindh [Sind, "Scinde"] is the Sanskrit *sindhu*, "the sea," "a river," and here the country watered by the Indus. In old Persian the form was Hindu; in Hebrew [Esther i. 1, and viii. 9] Hoddu or Hiddu; in modern Persian, and in Arabic, also out of Persian mouths Hind. The Greeks dropped the aspirate, and called the river Ἰνδος, and the country Ἰνδική, i.e. Ἰνδι-γή, "Indus-land"; which in Roman mouths became India; the term being now applied to all India; Hindustan being Northern India; and Southern India, the Deccan, that is "the country on the right hand," *dakshina*, of the worshippers of the rising sun in Hindustan. The Arabs still separate even "Sind" from "Hind." The Greeks retained the Sanskrit form of the word India in their name for fine muslin, σινδών; the *sadin* of Judges xiv. 12 and 13, Proverbs xxxi. 24, and Isaiah iii. 23. The Hindu sacred and epic names for India are *Bharata*, *Sri Bharata*, "Holy India," *Arya-barta* [the Doab], and *Tambu-dvipa*, all India.

solid array; and, when "the drums begin to yell," the sudden tumult and shoutings in the ranks, and the rush and clatter of hoofs, and the flash and clash of arms at close quarters, the now confused battle swaying backward and forward, as

> "The Trumpets sound the Charge and the Retreat,
> The bellowing Drum the March again doth beat."

But it is not war; and with the setting of the sun all that gay and gallant chivalry of Sindh of the *Kshatriyas* is seen rolled in blood and dust; and the tragedy of Alor closed with burning and fuel of fire in the woeful Rajput rite of the *johur* [Hindi *juhar*, from Sanskrit *yodhri*, "warrior"]. Dahir fell fighting in the thick of the Arab cavalry; but his widow continued the defence of the city until the exhaustion of provisions for the garrison. Then she, and all the women, with their children, gathered themselves together, and built up a great funeral pyre in the garden of the Palace, and, mounting it, were sacrificed in the flames of their own kindling: and the men having bathed and duly gone through the other ceremonies of the sublime "office," sallied forth sword in hand against the enemy, and perished to a man. This is the immemorial Rajput ritual of the *johur*.

After Sindh, Muhammad Kasim annexed Gujarat; and thence marched on to Mewar. When, according to the vague traditions of the Hindus, Valabhi, now Vala, in Kathiawar, was stormed by a Persian king—Naushirvan the Great (530–78) is the king named—the widow of the slain Rajput king, fleeing into the desert of Western Rajputana, there prematurely became the mother of a son [and heir to his father], known as Prince Goha. He established himself at Idar, and is said to have married a daughter of Naushirvan, by a wife who is said to have been a daughter of one of the Emperors of Constantinople—Maurice (582–602). The seventh from the posthumous

Prince Goha was Prince Bappa, who, on hearing that the Arabs had entered Mewar, collected a following, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, and raised himself to the *gadhi* [literally, "a cushion," which, placed on a carpet, is a Rajput Prince's sovereign seat]; and it is from him that the reigning Ranas of Udaipur are lineally descended.

The Arabs in India never recovered from this reverse; received at the very moment of their overthrow, at the other extremity of their far-stretched empire, by Charles Martel, on the glorious green fields between Poictiers and Tours, A.D. 752. The Rajputs in Sindh rose successfully against them in 750; and on their attempting to re-enter India from Kabul, under the command of the Mahometan Governor of Afghanistan, a relative of the Abassid Caliph, Harun al Rashid, the Rajputs at once set out against them, and, led by Prince Khoman of Chitor, finally expelled them from the sacrosanct soil of India, A.D. 812. The Arabs were, in fact, at this time paralysed at the very centre of their power by the suicidal struggle ending, A.D. 750, in the extinction of the Hellenised Ommiades [saving the few who escaped into Spain, and renewed at Cordova the splendours of the Saracenic art of Damascus], and the transfer by the triumphant Abassides of the seat of the Caliphate to Baghdad, A.D. 763. This was a fatal error, for they lost touch with the stimulating West, and were brought completely under the debilitating and demoralising influences of the East; and were thus led on into abandoning the military defence of the Empire to mercenaries, until in the thirteenth century "the Caliphate of the East" found its dishonoured grave in "golden Baldac."

For the Scythians, now known as Turks and Mo(n)gols, again issuing forth, first as free-lances, and then as ravening conquerors, from the frost-bound steppes, and hills of ice, of the uttermost north, the Uttara-Kuru of the Hindus, once more swept away the undermined fabric

of Semitic civilisation in Anterior Asia, and of Aryan civilisation in India and Eastern Europe—as though they had been but the glory of an hour. The Caucasian races have always rapidly spread themselves along the course [" litus Aryanum "] of the immemorial overland commerce between India, its perennial fountain-head, and Europe ; and the great catastrophes of civilisation have resulted from the intersection of this line of human progress and culture by secular cataclysms of Negroes from Inner Africa into Hamitic Egypt, and of Turanians [in the phrasing of mediæval legends, the impure " Shut-up-Nations " of " Gog and Magog "] from Posterior Asia into Semitic Anterior Asia, and Hamitic Egypt, and Aryan India, and Persia, and Europe ; isolating Caucasian civilisation in separate compartments, from the Ganges and Indus to the Danube and Nile. And the pity of it is that these humanising nations have never since the time of Alexander the Great been again joined together in the same mind, and the same judgment, living in peace together, as men drinking from one " loving cup " ; and armed with the omnipotence of their unity alike against the " Yellow Peril " and the " Black Peril." This is the unplotted tragedy of the Old World, whereon the curtain has never yet been rung down.

The Afghans[1]

The decline of the Arab Empire became manifest immediately after the death of Harun al Rashid, the contemporary and friend of Charlemagne, when one after another the provinces of the Eastern Caliphate began to throw off their allegiance to Baghdad. The Turkman, Ismail Samani, possessed himself of Transoxiana, Persia,

[1] The Afghans are the Assakani of the Greeks ; this word being the Sanskrit *ashvaka*, meaning " horsemen " ; that is " riders," " road(st)ers, —and, here emphatically, " raiders," ever " ready " to " raid."

and Afghanistan, setting up his throne in Bokhara. The fifth in descent from him appointed his "favourite" Turkman slave, Alptegin, Governor of Kandahar; where, on the death of his patron, he asserted his independence; leaving his kingdom on his own death, in 979, to his "favourite" Turkman slave and son-in-law, Sabuktegin. Jaipal, the Rajput Prince at Lahore, suspecting the designs of his minatory neighbour, resolved to anticipate them by himself seizing on Afghanistan; but, brought face to face with Sabuktegin at Lagman, on the road from Peshawur to Kabul, not far from Badiabad (where Lady Macnaughten and Lady Sale were held captive in 1842), a sudden storm in the mountains caused a panic among his superstitious warriors, and reduced him to the humiliation of purchasing his retreat by the surrender of his elephants, and the promise to pay a pecuniary indemnity. On the sinister advice of his Brahman priests, he deliberately broke his word of honour; when Sabuktegin, in his turn, marched off for Lahore, and, coming upon Jaipal on the plain of Lagman, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the unfortunate Prince; notwithstanding that his large army was now swollen by contingents from the allied Rajput States of Ajmir, Delhi, Kalinjir, and Kanauj.

The son of Sabuktegin, the fierce and avaricious bigot, "Mahmud of Ghazni," maintained the quarrel of his father, and in 1001 defeated Jaipal with frightful slaughter on the Peshawar ["Frontier-ward"] uplands; permitting him to return to Lahore only on the condition of paying an annual tribute to Ghazni. The disgrace of this was too bitter for the misguided Prince, who, after agreeing to the terms imposed on him, solemnised his death in accordance with the Rajput "office" of the *johur*. Mahmud's second expedition was against the Prince of Bhatia [whose domain is now included in the Patiala State], and here also the Prince Bijai Rai, when he found his courageous resistance

vain, committed the imperative sacramental suicide of the *johur*.

Mahmud's fourth expedition, 1008, was directed to the destruction of the powerful league formed against him by Anandpal, the son of Jaipal of Lahore, and supported with passionate patriotism by all the noble Rajput ladies of Hindustan. For forty days the rival hosts confronted one another on the wide pavilioned plateau rising westward from Peshawur to the Khaibar Pass, and when a general action was brought on by an irresistible charge of Kashmirian highlanders, and Anandpal seemed to hold the winged victory in his outstretched hand, the elephant he rode in grandiose state, took fright at "the Greek fire" used by the Mahometans, and the panic thus caused turned the battle in their favour; 20,000 of the flower of the Rajput manhood being left dead on the field. Then, pillaging on his way the fabulously endowed shrines of Nagarkot, now Kangra, Mahmud went back to Ghazni, to gloat at leisure over his abounding booty of "barbaric pearl and gold." His sixth expedition was undertaken for the sack of the yet holier and wealthier shrines of Staneshwara, "the Throne of God." In his seventh and eighth expeditions, 1014 and 1015, he ravaged Kashmir. His ninth expedition, 1017, he carried right into the heart of Hindustan, creeping stealthily along the slopes of the Himalayas, as near to the river sources as possible, and suddenly presenting himself with 20,000 Afghan infantry, and 100,000 Turkman cavalry before the gay and joyous garden city of Kanauj. The Rajput Prince at once capitulated; whereupon Mahmud, after three days' rest, hurried on to the great Brahmanical shrines of Muttra, the birthplace of Krishna, giving them up to fire and sword and rapine and plunder for twenty days; sparing only the fabric of a few of the temples, because of their exceeding beauty. His tenth and eleventh expeditions, of 1022 and 1023 respectively, were of comparative unimportance. The

former was successful in its punitive object, the deposition of Jaipal II, of Lahore, for inciting a Rajput campaign against the Prince of Kanauj for his submission to Mahmud without an appeal to "the fortune of war." The latter, directed against the Prince of Kalinjir, for assistance given by his predecessor to Jaipal I, of Lahore, against Sabuktegin, and by himself to Anandpal against Mahmud, proved unsuccessful.

The twelfth, and last, and locally most vividly recollected of Mahmud's expeditions, was in 1024, when he trudged down across the sands of Sindh and Western Rajputana, a thousand miles to "the sack of Somnath" in Kathiawar. The Rajputs let him proceed on his outward march unmolested; but when he turned back, overweighted by the votive offerings of centuries, with his face anxiously set toward Ghazni, they dogged every turn of his flagging course through the desert wastes between the Luni and the Indus; leading him away from the sparse water-springs on the right hand and the left, and betraying him into every manner of ambages and ambuscades, until well-nigh the whole of his bedraggled army was lost, and the greater part of his impious plunder. For the rest, he bilked the poet Firdausi ["the Paradisaic"] of his trivial pension (as others of us have been similarly bilked since then). In the very hour of his death (1028) he wept on bidding farewell to his treasures of costly arms, and armour, and precious jewels; sternly controlling an occasional impulse to divide them among the loyal comrades of his retributive raids and other faithful friends. But he had a quick eye for great architecture; and, from a maze of squalid Turkman huts, he made Ghazni, with its "Palace of Felicity," and arcaded streets, and refreshing fountains, and its "Mosque of the Celestial Bride," the pride and boast of Central Asia. Therefore, one understands, after a passing emotion of amused surprise, the fitness of things in the fact that he died, if not exactly in the show and

seeming, yet, and emphatically as regarded and judged by his contemporaries, in the full savour of sanctity. In a word, he was a man; and whatever he determined to do he did it right thoroughly. Furthermore, his fine feeling for architecture and for sumptuary objects of art, for all its taint of cupidity, must be accounted to him, and scarcely less than his leonine boldness, for the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

The first Afghan dynasty, called of Ghazni, gave place, in the regular course of Afghan infamy, and perfidy, and treachery, and murder, to the second Afghan dynasty, called of Ghor, **1153–1206**; and Shahabudin, better known as Muhammad Ghori, succeeding to the *masnad* [the "cushion" and carpet throne of Mahometan rulers, Hindi, from the Arabic *sanada*, "to lean against"], resolved on the conquest of Hindustan as a deliberate and definite policy. The moment was propitious for him. The Rathors of Kanauj had never been forgiven their ready surrender to Mahmud of Ghazni; and Ananda Deva, the Tomara Prince of Delhi, dying without male issue, left his kingdom to Prithvi Raja, the Chauhan Prince of Ajmir. Prithvi Raja, now uniting in his person the Tomara and Chauhan Rajputs, and the Sovereigns of Delhi and Ajmir, asserted his pretensions, against the prescriptive claims of [? his uncle] Jaya Chandra, the Rathor Prince of Kanauj, to be recognised as "the Over Lord," "Primus inter pares," of the reigning Rajputs of Hindustan.

This was bitterly resented by Jaya Chandra; who, taking advantage of the approaching marriage of his daughter, summoned all the Rajput Princes to be present on the occasion, and render him homage as their Lord Paramount. Prithvi Raja, who loved and was loved by his fair cousin, strong in his pride as in his affection, bluntly refused to demean himself as a vassal of Kanauj. Jaya Chandra, enraged, had an image of Prithvi Raja

made in the garb of a door-keeper, and placed it at the entrance to the hall in which the nuptials of his daughter were to be celebrated. But he counted without the fair Sangagota, who, on approaching the hall, bearing the garland she was to place round the neck of the bridegroom selected for her, quietly turned to the right and cast it over the head of the affronting image of Prithvi Raja. In a moment Prithvi Raja was at her side, and before the brilliant assemblage could recover from their amazement, had, with a sweep of his right arm, swung her up and across his saddle-bow, and galloped off with her, fast as his horse could bear them, all adown the rattling road to Delhi. It was Netherby Hall, and Young Lochinvar anticipated; and Sir Walter Scott was also there, in the person of Chand Bardai,[1] to immortalise the incident, so typical of the romantic and chivalresque life of the old Rajputs, "in love and arms delighting,"—in the "martiall *Pyrrhique* and the *Epique* straine" of the "Kanauj *Kandh*," or "Canto," of the *Prithviraj Chauhan Rasha*. Jaya Chandra, while sending his daughter her wedding trousseau [*jehaz*], called down on his son-in-law the wrath of the Afghans from Kabul and Lahore.

Muhammad Ghori had, in 1191, made an attempt on Delhi, but being promptly met by Prithvi Raja west of the city, between Panipat and Staneshwara, the traditionary battlefield of the Kuravas and Pandavas, he was there well defeated. But now, 1193, having strongly recruited his Turkman cavalry, he at once called them "to boot and saddle," and set off again for Delhi, with an invincible force. Betrayed by Jaya Chandra, and deserted by the Bhagela Rajput Princes of Gujarat, yet supported by the Gehelot Rana of Chitor, Prithvi Raja

[1] The bard Chand actually flourished at this date; and although his authorship of the *Prithviraj Chauhan Rasha* has latterly been called in question, no reason whatever has been adduced for doubting the unhesitating tradition of the Rajputs on the point.

was able to muster some 200,000 "cavaliers," and a proportionate number of "men-at-arms" to his colours. The two hosts came in sight of each other from the opposite banks of the River Sarasvati; Prithvi Raja having again chosen his ground, "the Field of the Kuravas and Pandavas" at Staneshwara, because of its auspiciousness among all Hindus, and its good omen for himself also.

The time passed by the Afghans in preparations for the coming battle was wasted by the Rajputs, who trusted to the charmed ground whereon they camped, in athletic sports and feasting; when, one night, just before the dawn, Muhammad Ghori, crossing the Sarasvati, suddenly awoke the day with his drums and trumpets, and was upon the Rajput host before his approach had been observed. Prithvi Raja, however, soon got his army in hand, and was apparently pressing Muhammad Ghori to a second defeat, when the latter, feigning a general retreat, and the unsuspecting Rajputs—true Aryas in this respect—falling into the flagrant confusion of a reckless pursuit, he at once charged them with the whole élite body of his hitherto masked cavalry, called up from the right and the left against the heroic Prithvi Raja. For miles "the stricken field" was strewn with cast-away flags, and spears, and shields, and heaped bows and jewelled swords, and plumed casques, and gauntlets, greaves, and breastplates, exquisitely chiselled, and damascened, and gaily-dyed scarves, all commingled with the blood of the countless dead. It was not only the number of the dead and dying that was so portentous of evil to come, but their position, their power, and their princely hearts.

Prithvi Raja, fighting to the last, his sword still in his hand, refusing all surrender, though surrounded on every side, and virtually a prisoner, was cut down in cold blood. His youthful bride immolated herself on his funeral pyre. The Prince of Chitor shared in his death; and with them also fell 150 of the purest and best "bloods"

of all the Rajput nobility of India. It was the Flodden Field of Rajasthan; and for 600 years India, India of the Hindus, never recovered from that "doubly redoubled" deadliest stroke of doom: not until England stepped forward to revindicate her Aryan liberties from Turanian slavery and oppression. Storming Ajmir, and massacring its garrison, Muhammad Ghori, in 1194, passed on to Kanauj, which fell an easy prey to his arms; most of its defenders being driven into the Jamna, with the brave old Jaya Chandra at their head, "bearing up their chins" to the last. When recovered his body could only be identified by his case of false teeth, held together by gold wire!

In the dramatic contrasts of its opening and closing scenes, surely never was a tragedy, not even of "the House of Atreus," of deeper or more moving woe. It is the story of Juliet and her Romeo, but involving in the pathetic fate of these Rajput lovers the doom of a great mediæval Aryan Empire; presenting Aryan civilisation and Aryan culture in a brighter, happier—because more natural—and simpler form than it had taken since the days of Alexander the Great, or will ever take again; for it was still Greek in outward form as well as in sentiment and vitalising spirit. No wonder that the story inspired Chand Bardai to sing his undying requiem of the Rajput race. The scattered remnants of the reigning families retired through the defiles of the Jamna into the sequestered recesses of the Aravali Hills, and the even more secretive solitudes of the salt desert between the Luni and the Indus. Rao Sivaji, the grandson of Jaya Chandra, settled in Marwar, with his capital at Mandor.

The conquests of Gujarat, Oudh, Bengal and Behar followed, and by 1206, the date of Muhammad Ghori's assassination, the irregularly and loosely organised rule of the Afghan Mahometans extended over all Hindustan, or India north of the Tapti and Nerbudda Rivers, and the Satpura and Vindhya Mountains.

On the death of Muhammad Ghori, one of his "favourite" slaves seized on the government of Afghanistan; and another, his ablest general, Kutubaddin, on that of Hindustan, and founded the third Afghan dynasty of India, called of "the Slave Kings," 1206–88, with their throne at Delhi; where the Kutub Minar commemorates his name. During the reign of his successor, Chinghiz Khan appeared on the banks of the Indus, and again between 1246 and 1266; and during the latter period an embassy was sent to Mahmud II, the eighth of "the Slave Kings," from Hulaku Khan, the destroyer of Baghdad, a grandson of Chinghiz Khan, and brother of Kublai Khan "in Xanadu." However, the only events of this period directly connected with Rajputana were the capture of the hill fort of Rintambor in the Jaipur State, and a rising of the Princes against Balin, the ninth "Slave King," 1266–88, said to have been quelled in an immense slaughter of the Rajputs.

The fourth Afghan dynasty of India, called "the House of Khilji," was founded on two assassinations by the Khilji chieftain Jelaluddin in 1288. He was succeeded, after the assassination of his two sons, by his nephew Allauddin Khilji, "The Sanguinary," whose reign is memorable for a great raid of the Mo(n)gols on Delhi, 1298; and for the commencement of the regular subjugation of the Deccan and the Carnatic. Risings of the Rajputs were put down by the reduction of Gujarat, 1297, the capture of Jaisalmir in 1294, the recapture of Rintambor in 1300, and the siege and sack of Chitor, 1303–5. The Gehelot Prince, driven to despair, resorted to the awful rite of the *johur*. His queen, Padmani, a woman of notable beauty, with all the ladies of the court, and the wives of the warriors, built up a vast funeral pyre in the centre of the city, and "so passed, as in a chariot of fire, to the Heaven of Indra"; and all the men rushed out through the gates upon the besiegers, who

cut down the most of them on the spot, a few only escaping into the overhanging Aravali Hills. This is "the First Sack of Chitor," of the three great "sacks" of that city. With the poisoning of Jelaluddin by his "favourite" slave and trusted general, Malik Kafur, and the murder of his third son and successor by his own "favourite" minister, a vile *parvari* [compare the Greek *πάροικος*, "parishioner"], an outcast from Hinduism, and a pervert to Islam, the House of Khilji came to its hideous end in 1321.

The fifth Afghan dynasty in India, called "the House of Tughlak," from its founder, Gheiazuddin Tughlak, Governor of the Punjab, the son of a Turkman slave by a Jat mother, reigned in a succession of seven kings from 1321 to 1412. This period is marked by the rebellion of the Mahometan Governors of the provinces of the Empire against the central authority at Delhi, and by the terrifying advent of Timurlangra, "Timur-the-lame," "Great Tamburlame," at Attock, September 1, 1398. He swept through Hindustan like a devastating whirlwind; and, on being proclaimed Emperor at Delhi, after massacring 100,000 prisoners in cold blood, in jubilation over the occasion, and going in state to the noble mosque of polished white marble on the banks of the Jamna, "to render to the Divine Majesty his humble tribute of fervent praise for the signal honour done him," he recrossed the Indus, in March, 1399, in the same unexpected way as when he entered India just six months before; taking with him the massed, incomputable, and incomparable pillage of Delhi, Meerut and Hardwar.

The sixth Afghan dynasty, called "the Four Seiads," 1414–1450, ruled at Delhi as Viceroys of the Mo(n)gols; and the Seventh, called "the Three Kings of the House of Lodi," 1450–1526, was the last of the abhorred Afghan dynasties of India. Altogether, they had torn and battened on her, like wild devouring dogs, 320 years.

The Mo(n)gols

The Afghan Governor of Lahore, himself a Lodi, having revolted from Ibrahim Lodi, the last of his dynasty, called in the aid of Zahiruddin Muhammad, surnamed Babar [" Baber "], " the Lion-hearted," hereditary Khan of Kokan. He was the sixth in descent from Timur, and, on his mother's side, a descendant also of Chinghiz Khan. Having occupied Kabul in 1504, and Kandahar in 1522, he readily responded to the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi; his first act, after crossing the Indus, being to seize and depose the disloyal Daulat Khan, as an untrustworthy person to leave on the line of his communications with Central Asia while on the march to Delhi. Baber had only 20,000 men with him, but mostly Turkman cavalry; and when he found himself barred at Panipat by Ibrahim Lodi with an army of 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants, he at once extended himself, masking his cavalry on both flanks. He let Ibrahim Lodi exhaust himself in repeated attempts to rush the position, and then, at the psychological moment, slipping his élite cavalry on the disordered Afghan host, and assailing them on the right hand and the left, he struck down 5,000 of them on the spot, with Ibrahim Lodi in their midst. The rest of the rout, recoiling before his solid assault like surging waves from a rock-bound shore, were rolled back in a headlong flight, and torrent of bloodshed, into the swift-flowing, unheeding stream of the Jamna. In suchwise, on April 19, 1526, was the second of " the four historical Battles of Panipat " won and lost. The capture of Agra [compare " ager," a " field "] immediately followed. Henceforward, throughout the rule of the Mo(n)gol Emperors of Delhi [1526–1806, and nominally to 1857], the history of Hindustan passes into the open light of our own day, and need be no further traced here

beyond its points of contact with the history of Rajasthan, as now contracted into Rajputana.

Neither the Afghans nor the Rajputs anticipated that Baber would remain in India after the plunder of Delhi and Agra. They expected that he would return like Timur, with the bloated burden of his bag and baggage, into Central Asia. He had, however, resolved to govern India in India ; and forthwith set about the supersession of the rebellious provincial Governors of the Lodis, and the resurgent Rajputs, entrusting his arduous duty to his eldest son and successor, Humayun. The Rajputs, when they found that Baber had come to stay among them, at once rose against him, in a last desperate effort to restore the *Kshatriya* supremacy throughout Hindustan. They were led by Rana Sanga the *Kalas* [compare "cœlus"], "the Pinnacle—of glory" of Chitor, and the Rai of Jaipur, and the Rao of Jodhpur, and Medni Rai, a brave and enterprising Rajput cadet, who had recently possessed himself of the fortress and territory of Chanderi in Malwa. This patriotic league was shattered at a blow at the battle of Sikri—afterward called by the Mahometans Fatehpur, the "City of Victory"—February, 1527. Shortly after this, Bahadur, the Sultan of Gujarat, invaded Mewar, and storming Chitor, 1532, "the second Sack of Chitor," the noble Rajput queen before celebrating the *johur* sent her bracelet to Humayun, to pledge him by this immemorial Rajput token of adopted brotherhood, to the protection of her son. The magnanimous Mo(n)gol at once marched against Bahadur, and drove him back into Gujarat. But Humayun, although brave and generous, was unenterprising, and was never free from troubles with the Afghans during a reign, often only nominal, of 25 years, 1530–1556.

Jellaluddin, surnamed Akbar, "the Great," the son of Humayun, was, throughout his reign, 1556–1605, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1603. He, or rather his faithful guardian and great general, Beiram,

stamped out the Afghans, now led by a great *Kshatriya* general, Hemu, on the plain of Panipat, November 5, 1556, "the third Battle of Panipat"; and the following six years, 1567–73, were spent in the reduction of the again resurgent Rajputs. The first to submit was Bahara Mal of Amber [Jaipur], one of whose daughters had been taken in marriage (? 1561) by Akbar; and the daughter of whose son, Rai Bhagvandas, was married (? 1585) to Selim, the son and successor, under the name of Jehanghir, "the World Conqueror," of Akbar. Again, on the submission of Jodhpur in 1573, Rao Udai Sing gave up his sister Jodha Bai in marriage to Akbar. Raja Man Sing, another brave and ever-faithful general of Akbar, was a member of the reigning family of Jaipur; and another *Kshatriya* Jodai Mal, distinguished as a general, was also a distinguished financier, and the greatest of Akbar's ministers.

The great Emperor's employment of *Kshatriya* Hindus, in this way, in high office, and responsible military commands, served greatly to reconcile them to the rule of the Mahometans; and his marriages with the Rajput princesses also undoubtedly improved the physical vigour and the intellectual power of the offspring of "the Great Mo(n)gols," and tended to ameliorate the religious and social prejudices separating Mahometans and Hindus. But, at the time, the Houses of Jodhpur and Jaipur incurred much odium and contempt for permitting these family alliances. The Rana of Chitor resolutely refused to acquiesce in the degradation, as he regarded it, and defied the wrath of Akbar against his proud and scornful contumacy. He preferred death to what he deemed, and was deemed by all his peers, to be dishonour, and the foulest dishonour. Akbar accordingly laid siege to Chitor; when, there being no hope of deliverance, the Rani solemnised the rite of *johur*. This is known as "the third Sack of Chitor," 1567–8. Udai Sing, the Rana, on the approach of Akbar, leaving the defence of the city to Jai

Mal, the Chief of Bednor, had sought refuge in the neighbouring forests, where he afterwards built the city of Udaipur, making a vow that so long as Chitor remained a ruin, neither he nor his successors would twist their beards in the Rajput fashion, or eat or drink from anything but leaves, or sleep on anything but straw; and to this day the Ranas of Udaipur sleep on sumptuous beds *laid on straw*, and eat from golden and silvern plates *laid on green leaves*, and never twist their beards.

By 1592 Akbar had made himself master of Hindustan, keeping a strong hold on Afghanistan, as the key to the plains of the Indus and Ganges; and he now commenced operations for the recovery of the lost Deccan to Islam. But in 1601 his health seriously failed him, and the last five years of his life were overshadowed by the gloomiest forebodings for the future. He knew that he was a man superior to all the men about him; that there was none to carry on his work, or that even understood its full significance. He died in absolute mental isolation,—as of the alonely eagle in its solemnising flight at sundown to its lofty upland "aire." In truth he was not only the greatest of "the Great Mo(n)gols," but pre-eminent above all his pre-eminent contemporaries in Europe; an ornament and pride not only of Islam, but of the human race. His transcendent name in India not so much rests on his conquests, as on his genius in consolidating them, and creating the organisation for their civil administration and military defence.

He freely bestowed, or rather enforced, religious toleration on his subjects; and could he have had his will of their hearts he would have broken down all social barriers between them. He advanced Hindus not only to the highest and most dignified, but to the most responsible and confidential appointments in the State: and never should it be forgotten that they served him with scrupulous and whole-hearted fidelity, and that the very loyalest of

them were the strictest and most uncompromising devotees of their own religious beliefs and observances. He abolished the infamous poll tax on Hindus, he forbade *sati* [" suttee"], and encouraged the remarriage of Hindu widows. He severely repressed the attempts of the Rajputs to act independently in matters of high policy and State necessity; but so long as they were submissive in their political relations with the Paramount Power he not only respected their social prejudices, and sympathised with their misfortunes and aspirations, but treated them as valued and honoured and trusted friends ; and he made the most advantageous uses of them for the purposes of imperial defence ; not attempting to dragoon them into uniformity with the Mo(n)gol drill-books, but leaving them in their own national military formations, racy of the soil, as volunteer troops, who above all, horse and foot, were, each one of them, a gentleman, as it was of olden days with the Scots clansmen. He never interfered in any way in the internal economy of their sovereign States ; and he never in the benign intelligence of his capacious brain, conceived the thought of forcing an alien system of education on a people who, through at least 2000 years of history, had elaborated the most perfect type of Aryan speech, and created a splendid literature, and unique architectural and industrial arts of their own, and a highly spiritualised idiosyncratic religious culture. We may therefore the better understand the anguish of his dying years, 1603–5 ; the daily failing of his great heart for fear, and for looking forward to the evils that he saw were coming on the Mo(n)gol Empire when his own fate was fulfilled. He was constantly speaking to his family and his great nobles of the inevitable consequences of their mutual jealousies and rivalries, and of the imminent dangers of persisting in them ; and exhorting them to concord and frank co-operation. But they were as words spoken to the wind that bloweth where it listeth : while at this very time,

(February of 1601) "riding in *Thames*, between *Lymehouse* and *Blackwall*," were the "Hector," "Ascension," "Susan," and "Guift," with the "Red Dragon" of the "First Voyage" of the first East India Company, freighted with the "unshunable destiny" of the English race in Asia; those who turned a deaf ear to the warnings of Akbar little witting that they were thus already preparing the way before it.

III

The English in India

In the reign of Jehanghir, 1605–27, the ever-smouldering disaffection of the Rajputs was, after a reverse suffered by the imperial troops in 1610, appeased for a time, on terms most advantageous to the Rana of Mewar, Amara II, the grandson of Udai Sing. Shah Jehan, the third son of Jehanghir, owed his succession to the throne of Delhi, 1628–58, to the support given him by the Rajputs, who in his reign were equally powerful in the court and the camp of the Great Mo(n)gol. The year of his succession was also the year of the birth of Sivaji, the man of men destined to reanimate the Mahrattas with that Aryan passion for personal freedom and pride of race which, under unparalleled adversities, had sustained the Rajputs through 800 years of uncompromising hostility to the rule of the Arabian, Afghan, and Mo(n)gol Mahometans. The auspices seemed favourable to the future of India—India of the Hindus; but the Mahrattas were new to the responsibilities of power; while the Rajputs, in the course of their prolonged struggle for very existence with the Mahometans, had lost something of the foresight and sagacity of their once magnanimous statesmanship. Instead of uniting in a common policy toward the Mo(n)gol Empire, these inherently patriotic Hindu nationalities

entered on a fratricidal contest for predominance at Delhi ; with consequences that would have brought universal ruin on India, but for the tardy and reluctant, but at last definite interposition of the English in their internecine warfarings. Aurungzib,[1] "the Ornament of the Throne," otherwise known as Alumgir, "the Conqueror of the Universe," the perfidious, intolerant, fanatical, and cruel fourth son of Shah Jehan, secured the succession to the throne by a series of the very blackest and most inhuman murders. Both Jeswunt Sing Rao of Jodhpur and Jai Sing of Udaipur had assisted him against Sivaji ; but his reimposition of the poll tax alienated the loyalty of the Rajput Princes ; and his vindictive treatment of the widow and children of Jeswunt Sing drove them again into open revolt ; and they were conciliated only by the remission of the tyrannous and obnoxious tax.

Under Bahadur Shah, otherwise Shah Alam I (1707–12), the grandson of Aurungzib, the Sikhs and Mahrattas gave great trouble at Delhi ; and on an alliance being formed between Rana Amira II of Udaipur, Sivaji Jai Sing of Jaipur, and Ajit Sing [son of Jeswunt Sing of Jodhpur], virtual independence was granted to Rajputana. For the support rendered at this crisis, and in the previous rebellion against the poll tax, by Jaipur and Jodhpur to Udaipur, they had restored to their Houses the privilege of marriage with Udaipur. Unfortunately, the concession revived the antipathies excited against the former families for having given their daughters in marriage to Akbar and Humayun, and greatly aggravated the rivalries among the Rajput Princes for marriage with the pure-blooded princesses of Udaipur ; the tragical issue of one of these

[1] Zib, "Ornament," occurs also in the name of his daughter, Zibanisa, "the Ornament of her Sex," the poetess Makhfi, i.e. "the Anonymous" ; and of Zibilina, the wife of the nephew of Kublai Khan. And in the name of the Zibu, the [*beautiful*] humped "Brahmany Bull" of India, *Bos indicus ;* and of the [*striped*] "Zebra," and the Zebayer islands in the Red Sea.

romantic feuds directly leading at length to the establishment in 1817–18 of the British protectorate of Rajputana.

The eighth Mo(n)gol (1712), a son of Shah Alam I, the ninth (1712–19), and tenth and eleventh (1719–20), all grandsons of Shah Alam I, are empty names ; but the ninth, Farukshah, may be named because of his marriage, in 1713, with a daughter of Ajit Sing of Jodhpur. Muhammad Shah, the twelfth Mo(n)gol Emperor (1720–48), was entirely in the hands of the Mahrattas, to whom he granted the *chouth*, or " one-fourth " of the revenues of the Deccan. The Mahrattas being called in by Jagat Sing II of Udaipur to assist him in asserting the claims of his nephew to the vacant *gadi* of Jaipur, also received for this service the *chouth* of Mewar, and the session of the district of Rampur. But the outstanding event of Muhammad Shah's reign was the invasion of India by Nadir Shah, 1738–9, with its climax in the bloody massacres of Delhi, and the symbolical abduction of " the Peacock Throne " of Shah Jehan. In the last year of his reign India was again invaded, this time by the terrible Ahmed Shah Abdalli, one of the lieutenants of Nadir Shah in his conquest. He was met and repulsed by Muhammad Shah's son, and successor, Ahmed Shah, 1748–54. But " the Abdalli " was permitted to retain possession of the Punjab [Lahore and Multan] as a solatium for a check recognised as full of menace for the future of the Mo(n)gol Empire. Under Alamghir II, the fourteenth Emperor, 1754–9, a brother of Muhammad Shah, the dreaded Abdalli once more crossed the Indus [1756, the year of " the Black Hole "], and having seated his infant son in the government of the Punjab, marched on Delhi, and entered the city on September 11, 1757 [the year of Plassey]. But pestilence breaking out in his army, he at once, with his prolonged lumbering trains of high-packed *loot*, marched back to Kabul.

The nominal reign of Alamghir's son, Shah Alam II, was from 1761 to 1806. As soon as "the Abdalli" was out of sight, the wirepullers at Delhi incited the Mahrattas to plunder the Punjab, and this most ill-advised, if brilliant, adventure again brought "the Abdalli" down upon Delhi. After many marchings and counter-marchings, the Mahrattas were at the last driven to bay, and entrenched themselves at Panipat, there to await the onset of the Abdalli. His force was less numerous than theirs; while careful, therefore, to watch them on every side, he resolved to wait until they were starving before he destroyed them. He had not to wait long, for on the eve of January 6 (our "Twelfth Day"), 1761, Sivadasa Rao sent round the word: "The cup is full to the brimming, and we must drink it down to the dregs"; and at dawn the following day, hounded on by hunger, the whole army moved out to the attack, 65,000 horse, 15,000 foot, 200 cannon, and 200,000 Pindharis, the Chinchuses of their date. The Sindhia was on the right, the Holkar, with the Rajput auxiliaries, in the centre, and the Mahrattas from Sivaji's *svai-raj* ("Own-kingdom," compare *svadeshi*, "Own-country") on the left. The latter, "the dalesmen" (*mavalis*) of the Western Ghats, between Poona and Satara, drove back the Abdalli's right, and the Rajputs and Jats drove back his centre, and the fortune of the day would have been with the Hindu army, but that the Holkar at this moment treacherously abandoned the field, and was incontinently followed by the Rajputs. "The fourth battle of Panipat" then became the Armageddon of the Mahrattas.

The fight ended, and Delhi well looted, the Abdalli returned to Kabul, where he died, having no bonds in his death, in 1773. At Delhi itself everything was left in confusion worse confounded than before; sometimes the Mahrattas securing possession of the person of the puppet Emperor, and sometimes the Mahometans, each in turn

wielding his still controlling sceptre as the madder "Lords of Misrule."

Rajputana suffered terribly during the chaos. In Mewar the Rana Jagat Sing, 1733–51, had, as already said, surrendered Rampura, and agreed to pay half *chouth* to the Mahrattas. In the reigns of his successors, Raj Sing, 1754–61, and Arsi Sing, 1761–71, the State was constantly overrun by roving bands of these freebooters; and the Rana, Amira II, 1771–7, was compelled to yield up several districts to the Scindhia and the Holkar of the period. But it was in the early part of Bhim Sing's long reign, 1777–1828, that Mewar suffered most from the senseless and ruinous raids of these marauding Mahrattas. Jaipur and Jodhpur were treated in the like manner, but the energetic Jaipur Prince, Pratab Sing, 1769–1803, in alliance with the Jodhpur Prince, Vijaya Sing, 1752–93, succeeded in inflicting condign chastisement on them at the battle of Tonga, 1787; when Vijaya Sing obtained possession of Ajmir, after it had been held continuously from 1756 by the Mahrattas.

It was inevitable that England would be drawn into the vortex; but the pressure of the Mahrattas was first felt by the Honourable East India Company chiefly in Southern India. The complications of the position were perplexing, but Warren Hastings[1] was now at the

[1] See Sir John Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohilla War;* Sir G. W. Forrest's *Selections from the Records of the Foreign Department of the Government of India*, 1772–85; and Sir Charles Lawson in *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, 1892, on his pilgrimage to the grave of Warren Hastings at Daylesford. Sir Charles Lawson's mongraph is of particular interest and value, proving as it does, and all the more impressively because quite unintentionally, that the success of Warren Hastings as a public servant was based on his solid English worthiness in every relation of private life. He was the subject of the most cruel calumnies by the "Little Englanders" of his day, and his great memory was for nearly a century obscured by their scandalous misrepresentations; but men like Warren Hastings always have God on their side, Who, if patient, is unerring in His law, in the end discriminating clearly and strongly between right and wrong. Looking through Sir Charles Lawson's illustrations, one cannot help feeling that after all it is some reparation for the wrongs a

head of affairs [1772, 1774–85], and at the right moment ordered Colonel Leslie to lead a force from Calcutta, diagonally across the breadth of the peninsula, upon Surat; and on Leslie's showing himself a little dilatory in his preparations for the adventure, forthwith replaced him in the command by Colonel Thomas Goddard,[1] who, starting off from Calcutta in October, 1778, reached Surat on February 6, 1779. This memorable feat of combined political insight, sagacity, courage, and military skill and vigour, was vehemently denounced in England as "a frantic exploit." The reply is, that but for such heroical frenzies the English would never have been Lords Paramount of India: and the triumphant result of "Goddard's March" was the Treaty of Salbai, 1782, regulating the future relations of England with the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, and "Tipu Sahib."

The prestige of the Mahrattas having been lowered by Goddard's splendid achievement, and further injured in Hindustan by the victory of the Rajputs at Tonga, they lost for a time their influence at Delhi; and Shah Alam II passed into the hands of the Mahometan faction of the Mo(n)gol Court. Suspecting that he had amassed great treasure, the Rohilla,[2] Golam Kadir, to induce him to

man may suffer in life, to lie in death in so unpretentious and tranquil an English grave as that wherein Warren Hastings sleeps at Daylesford, the very place of his birth, and instinct with the spirit of the antique benediction: "Peace be here" [Εὐφημία 'στω]. In the darkest hours a statesman can know,—when the beneficent results of the labours of years are suddenly exposed to destruction by party politicians, with their wild mad whirlwind of winged words, wielding the ignorant, wayward masses to their will, and he is assailed on all sides by the parasites of these demagogues, base-bred, foul-mouthed, mean fellows, Thersites-like apt in all the vile arts of contumely and detraction,—in such hours of personal affront and insult, and evilest national portent, the tardy but complete vindication the private and public character of Warren Hastings has at length received, should reanimate faith and hope, and the sweet serenity of his sequestered grave breathe balm.

[1] Afterward Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army. Falling sick, and "invalided home," he died in sight of the Land's End, July 7, 1783.

[2] The Rohillas [from *rohu*, "a mountain"] were Afghans [the Assakani

reveal the place of its concealment, put his sons [the second was Akbar II, the sixteenth Mo(n)gol Emperor, 1806–37] and grandsons [the son of Akbar II was M. Bahadur, the seventeenth and last Mo(n)gol Emperor, 1837–57], to piteous tortures before the presence of the unhappy monarch. This failing of its fell purpose the Rohilla Chieftain, in his fiendish rage, snatching the dagger from Shah Alam's girdle, gouged out both his eyes with it, casting them one after the other to the ground. The Mahrattas now regained hold of the blind, broken-hearted Emperor; and, using their opportunity to cause trouble once more in Southern India, brought on another conflict with us, 1803, "the Second Mahratta War," so called. After Wellington's victory at Assaye, September 23, 1803, it was most satisfactorily concluded by "the Treaty of Deogaom," of December 17, 1803, with the Bhonsla [Mahratta ruler of the Sivaji family] of Berar, and "the Treaty of Argengaom," of December 30, 1803, with the Sindhia—a marvellous year's work, due chiefly to the energy of the Marquis of Wellesley, as Governor-General, 1798–1805. Subsidiary treaties of protection were made with Jaipur, Jodhpur, and others of the Rajput States. These treaties were condemned "at Home" as committing England to the virtual "Protectorate of India"; and this weak, evasive demeanour of ours [that is of the Parliamentary "Opposition" of the day], before an obvious duty, disheartening the Rajputs, and encouraging the Holkar,—who, owing to the vacillations of policy caused by political cowardice of "the Home Government," had all along been left at large,—he at once fell upon Raj-

—from Sanskrit *asvaka*, "horseman"—of the Greeks] who settled in and gave their name—Rohilkhand—to the country between the Jamna and the Ganges, about Bareilly, Moradabad and Bijnour up to the Tarai. They cleared these districts of their Hindu inhabitants. Their later encroachments on Oudh led to the Nawab Vizier of that country seeking the protection of the English against them; which was at once given by Warren Hastings, 1781.

putana, and thus brought on "the Third Mahratta War," April, 1804, to December, 1805.

Although the Holkar caused some trouble, Lord Lake cut him up severely at Fatehghar. But the simultaneous delay in the siege of the Jat fortress of Bhurtpur emboldening the Sindhia to join the Holkar, a preposterous panic seized on the authorities at Home, who, in July, 1805, sent out Lord Cornwallis again to Calcutta with express instructions to restore peace at any price. A separate "peace," in which there was no peace, was at once made with the Sindhia and the Holkar; and, although they both were absolutely in our power, the shameful and shameless price we paid for it was the sacrifice of our faithful allies in Rajputana to the unleashed vengeance of their hereditary foes.

Mewar, still under Bhim Sing, was scoured from end to end by the Sindhia and Holkar, and the notorious Afghan adventurer, Amir Khan, the ancestor of the Nawabs of Tonk. The cities were destroyed, the forests burnt down, the fields laid waste, and the people driven with feline ferocity up into the unassailable and safe fastnesses of the Aravali and Satpura Hills, and Vindhya Mountains. Jaipur, under Jajat Sing II, 1803–18, was similarly devastated and desolated; and Marwar, where Man Sing's first act on the *gadi*, 1803, was to assent to the repudiation by ourselves of the treaty of protection we had solemnly entered into with his predecessor, "in articulo mortis," was left by us to the same lamentable fate. But the most abject and basest betrayal of all was of the little Rajput State of Bundi. When the British, under Colonel Monson, were retreating before Holkar, July 8 to August 31, 1804, they at length reached Bundi, where Umed Sing, disregarding the reprisals of the Holkar, gave them a most cordial reception, rendered them every possible assistance, and conducted them safely through his kingdom, and out of all pressing danger; thus ful-

filling to the letter, and in the frankest manner, the obligations we had enforced on him in 1803. Yet, and in spite of Lord Lake's protestations, we left him completely disclosured to the ruthless vindictiveness of the Holkar; for the Government in London had given their panic-stricken orders, and the abdominous and slouchy General who had surrendered Yorktown, and made the inconclusive Treaty of 1702 with "Tipu Sahib," good slogging fighter though he was, had not the stuff in him to turn, in reply, upon the contemptible authorities in England with an accomplished fact overmastering all remonstrance or reproof.

Further serious aggravations of the troubles created by the policy initiated through Lord Cornwallis, were stayed by his transparently providential death; and when the Earl of Minto went out as Governor-General (1807–13), the fatal consequences of our dastardly truckling to the Mahrattas were so obvious, that the exercise of the greatest discretion was required on the part of the Government of India, if order and peace were to be maintained in the country.

Then occurred the strange, sinister quarrel between Jaipur and Jodhpur for the hand of Krishna Thumari Bai, the younger daughter of the twice aforesaid Rana Bhim Sing (1777–1828), of Udaipur. She had been betrothed to Bhim Sing of Jodhpur (1793–1803), and on his death was claimed by his successor, Man Sing, on the specious plea that her betrothal was to the throne of Jodhpur, and not to the person in passing occupation of it. Her father, however, had already betrothed her to Jagat Sing, the effeminate and debauched Prince of Jaipur. The lovely Thumari Bai, born in 1792, was barely 12 years of age at this time; and for the next seven years Rajputana was convulsed by the rivalry of Jaipur and Jodhpur for her innocent little hand. Nearly every Prince and Chief in Rajputana took part in the direful quarrel :—

a revival in the nineteenth century A.D. of the great mythical war in the fourteenth century B.C. of the *Mahabharata ;* and on its very scene.

In a fatal moment both sides sought the support of the infamous Amir Khan, and his brutal banditti of renegade Mahrattas and Pindharis ; who accorded it, now to the one side and now to the other, as they outbid each other for his mercenary and merciless sword. In his extremity the Rana of Udaipur besought the intervention of the English. Under the influence of the cruel orders from Home, this was refused ; and, driven to despair, the miserable father yielded to the demand of the scoundrel Amir Khan to have his daughter murdered. She was now eighteen, and Greek in the grace and sweetness of her perfected loveliness ; and, obedient to a fate that would, as was hoped, bring her royal House and renowned country peace—attired as a royal bride—taking the poisoned [opiate] *kasamba* bowl, timidly proffered to her by her distracted father, and crying out gallantly, "This is the bridegroom foredoomed for me !"—she drank it to the last drop, falling down on the floor, in a deadly swoon, at the feet of her weeping handmaids. The heart-breaking tragedy filled India, and filled England, with horror, anguish, and remorse ; and served more to convince the conscience of the people of England of the iniquity of our pusillanimous perfidy toward Rajputana, after "the Second Mahratta War," than even the representations of Lord Minto on its improvidence and folly.

It fell to the Marquis of Hastings, as seventh Governor-General, to carry out the virile policy recommended by Lord Minto ; and, after settling scores with Nepal, he carried through his short and thoroughly effective campaigns of October, 1817, to February 10, 1818. They were signalised by the victories of Kirki, Nagpur, Mehedpur, Korigaum, and Ashte, involving the virtual extermination of the Pindharis ; and were felicitously terminated by

"the Treaty of Mandeshwar," in Rajputana, whereby a final accommodation was come to with the Mahratta States of the Deccan, and the British Protectorate over Rajputana was reaffirmed and permanently constituted. The Holkar had to give up the whole of his ill-gotten territories in Rajputana; and the State of Bundi was liberally compensated for its disinterested loyalty to the British Raj.

"And thus in happy days, and rest, and peace,"

"the Fourth Mahratta War" was brought to its beneficent end.

The fort of Asirghar, indeed, was not taken until April 9, 1819. It crowns an isolated hill of the Satpura [" Seven-towns "] range, south of Mhow and Indore, both away on the other side of the river. I lived in the fort some two years between 1832 and 1839; and I believe I can correctly recall every prominent feature of the fortress, and of the rock on which it stands. I certainly could draw a good ground-plan of its platform, and a recognisable silhouette of its profile; and I well recollect the awe and execration with which to that day the people about me spoke of the Pindharis in the last Mahratta war. The large beaten brass *gindi* [" hollowed "], in which I tubbed, and took with me to England in 1839, had been an unconsidered portion of the prize booty recaptured from the Pindharis some fifteen years previously.[1] On

[1] Asirghar is one of the finest stations in India for the observation of sunrises and sunsets, and moonlight effects. In the clear sapphire of the earth's shadow we call the night, the stars, as viewed from this, and similar Indian hill forts, do not shimmer, but shine with the bright steady glow of distant orbs hanging at varying altitudes in the illimitable heights of the heavens; and the face of the moon is seen in full relief, and to be not of silvern, but of pearly radiance of the most exquisite nacre; and the varying remoteness and magnitude of these worlds upon worlds define an inter-stellar perspective, leading the eye in every direction, beyond the pillars of " the Seven Planets," and beyond " the Towers of the Twelve Signs " of the Zodiac, and on and on through endless vistas of glory into the very mystery of Infinity;—and the mind, losing all sense of time, as measured by days, and weeks, and months, and years, seems by a trans-

every one of the six occasions on which I crossed the Nerbudda, going and returning from Mhow and Indore, or from excursions into Rajputana, there was some murderous scrimmage afoot along the rough countryside overhanging the right bank of the river; and every day *Bhils* were to be seen from afar following the jungle tracks through Khandesh, when I was visiting my uncle at Dhulia; and arrows were discharged at the palanquin, or the pony, wherever I happened to be borne.

This condition of things, between only seventy and eighty years ago, is now entirely forgotten, if it was ever realised by the sleek dwellers of the populous maritime cities that have grown up in India under the ægis of the British Raj—Calcutta and Madras, and Bombay and Karachi. But they remain living memories for Khandesh, Malwa, Bhopal, and Rajputana; and in all the domestic histories of the reigning Rajput families, after the sickening record of the untoward calamities of the fifty-seven years, from 1761 to 1818, there is a sudden change to the joyous and frankly grateful acknowledgment made of the improvement in the material and moral condition of the country and in the position of the sovereign Princes, under the terms of the Treaty of Mandeshwar; and in every instance these histories associate the redemption of Rajputana—as of a brand plucked out of the burning—with the ever-revered name of Colonel James Tod.

mutation overmastering all materiality and self-consciousness, to pass into the absolute, unconditioned light and perfect life of Eternity. The Vindhyan sunrises and sunsets also have their own fulness of glory, and may be compared in their magnificence with those seen from Edinburgh Castle and Stirling Castle and Dumbarton Castle; but they have not the specific celestitude, and do not inspire the definite wonder and awe and worship of the moonlight nights of Asirghar, ringing through all their sapphire depths with the song of the "Trisagion"; "*'Agios 'o Theos, 'Agios Ischyros, 'Agios Athanatos.*"

IV

Verba Novissima

This is the round, unvarnished recital, running through twenty centuries, from Alexander the Great to Muhammad ibn Kasim, and onward to Karim Khan, of the unflinching and inebranlable antagonism of the high-souled Rajputs against every intruder into India, and every hateful persecutor of " the twice-born " Hindus ; a hostility inspired to the last, as from the first, by the unquenchable love of individual freedom and the unswerving, self-sustained fortitude denotative of every true-blooded Aryan race. In all the unrivalled record of their interminable warfarings, whatever the emergency of their merciless fate, their spirit was never broken, and whatever the storm and stress of unequal battle, their rent flag was never lowered. When it could no longer be upheld, they raised the dread signal of the rallying *johur ;* and shoulder to shoulder, and back to back, fought their feud out to the well and righteously purposed end of every good fight between gentlemen of " fire i' the blood."

The practical reflections suggested by the trumpet-tongued chronicle, and pressed by it as well upon us Englishmen as upon Rajputs, are :—What causes have conduced to the vitality of the Rajput passion for personal virility ? and, What lessons have the results of them, as read in their history, for themselves, and, in especial, for ourselves ?—not as an imperial people, for that wider scope of the question lies beyond my province here, but as individual men, living the round of our daily lives among other men. The less invidious course will be to let the reply to the first interrogation be the reply also to the second ; and it is this :—The predetermining and preponderating influences in the development of the strong

historical personality of the Rajputs have been the superiority of race they as Aryas share with the English and other Germans in Europe and North America ; and with the French and other Latins, and the Greeks of Southern Europe ; and the Russians, and the Persians ; and the proper pride fostered in every man of them by the self-consciousness of their ethnical superiority ; and the instinctive exclusiveness, engendered by this pride, with which, by vigorously avoiding mixed marriages, they have sought to sustain the pristine purity of their pan-Aryan strain. The distinguishing note of this superiority is virility, as shown in every worthy and beseeming quality implied thereby—temperance, endurance, patience, courage, fortitude, equity, and, above all these, because the sum of them all, magnanimity ; and again, in all these natural virtues, educated to their perfected expression in the character of chivalrous men. Of such are "the brave in the dark," the darkness of forgotten history, "the heroes before Agamemnon" ; and again the innumerable English youths, beardless striplings, "steeped in honour and in discipline," who yearly yield up their lives in our Army and Navy, a last sacrifice to patriotism, "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung," because there is no Homer to immortalise their deeds.[1] Their daring is its own reward, and their one desire to find in the "enemy" they needs must meet an equal daring to their own. In Fletcher's *Bouduca*, the prayer of Caratach ["Caractacus"] to the British War-God, Andate,[2] is :—

> "Give us this day good-hearts, good enemies,
> Good blows o' both sides, wounds that fear, or flight,
> Can claim no share in :—
> Let Rome put on her best strength, and thy Britain,
> This little Britain—but as great in fortune—
> Meet her as strong as she, as proud and daring."

[1] "'Quo procul hinc'—the legend's writ,
—The frontier grave is far away !—
'Qui ante diem periit,
Sed Miles, sed PRO PATRIA.'"

[2] Andate, Andraste, or Andras, was a "goddess," and in Fletcher's

This is the prayer of every British soldier's heart when marching into "the field of slaughter," and this was the prayer from the heart of every Rajput Prince when solemnly entering on a campaign against Delhi, Gwalior, or Indore, addressed to their supreme War-God, the Lord Siva, in his most eldritch sanctuary of Vindhyan Elnalinga.

This virility, the essential and fundamental element of all natural, manly virtue, has been perpetuated from father to son, through at least seventy generations, among the Rajputs, by their ancient system of domestic education. They have never confounded instruction with education, for they have never confounded knowledge with character, but have ever recognised that manual dexterities and mental acquirements, the inherent powers of the intellect itself, are vain things, unless behind them is the inspiring, guiding, controlling, co-operative, and omnificent force of a fearless, resolute, just, and benignant character, matured in the warriors of Rajputana by 2,000 years of the stubbornest oppugnancy to the most heaviest malignancies of Fate ; and refined and elevated to a national, or rather, an ethnical ideal, by the obligation to study the history of that perenduring argument of shed blood, imposed as a religious duty on every young Rajput of any pride in his generous race and ennobling lineage. This history is taught him, not in its dead letter of dates and statistical tables, but in its living and moving spirit as caught and handed down from man to man by the glowing genius of their tribal poet Chand Bardai. The *Mahab-*

Bouduca [Boudica, "Boadicea"] the word "god" is applied to her simply as the masculine of honour. The speech Fletcher puts into the mouth of "Caratach" [Caradoc, "Caractacus," ? Caird] should be compared with one of the Latin ballads of the period of the decline of the Roman Empire, sung by the Legionaries after a victory :—

"Mille, mille, decollavimus,
Unus homo mille decollavimus.
Mille vivat qui mille occidit.
Tantum vini habet nemo
Quantum fundit sanguinis."

harata, the *Ramayana*, and the *Prithviraj Chauhan Rasha* are the choice historical library of every Rajput gentleman; and this, simply, is why, in spite of all the calculators, the economists, and the sophisters with whom we have overflowed India, and who have for ever extinguished the epic life of Europe, "the Age of Chivalry" has not wholly passed away in India.

These poems have the same virtue in forming the historical personality of Rajputs as that exercised by the Iliad and Odyssey, the plays of Shakespeare and the Bible—books that "show, contain, and nourish all the world,"—in moulding the national character of the English, as we recognise it at the very zenith of its typical and specific greatness, in the eighteenth century. Germany, England, and the United States of America owe everything they are, and have, to their vernacular versions of the Bible—the bed-rock of their national greatness and glory, and the sure staple, proof, and bulwark of their defence in the warfare for righteousness against "a whole world in arms"; and so long as they remain true to Luther's German rescript of the Bible, and we Anglo-Saxons to our "Authorised Version"—for both America and England, that other "well of English undefiled"—it may be asked of the three,—"Quis separabit?" [1]

To steep and imbue the souls of men, and from childhood, in these books is indeed what alone can quicken the dead clay of mere clerical and technical proficiency into operative life, and unquestioned magistery; and of all professional experts, this baptism of the true Promethean fire, is the imperative pre-requisite of the warrior who would be a leader of warriors, of the type of—

> "Henry the fift, that man made out of Fire,"

as he is finely phrased by Drayton; and, coming to our own generation, those other right heroical and illustrious

[1] Written 1904. See Author's Preface.—Ed.

Agnikulas, the late Viscount Wolseley, the late Earl Roberts, and Prince Louis of Battenberg. In the *Rig-Veda*, the poet and the warrior are one ; both are Agnikulas. The hero fires the poet, and the poet in return rekindles the fecund flame in other heroes.[1] The one has no life without the other ; only the poet is ever the predominant partner in their common fame. This is tersely told in Sir John Vaughan's lines [1631] " Upon the Battaile of Agincourt " :—

" What *Povver* is a Poet ; that can add
A life to Kings, more glorious than they had.
For what of Henry is unsung by thee,
Henry doth want of his Eternity."

To say nothing of " the Seven Arts " [" the Trivium " and " Quadrivium," answering to " the Seven Planets," the three outer and four inner], that in themselves are poetry,—in the very mechanical and industrial arts, the heroic spirit, which is the poetic spirit, is equally necessary, if they are to be elaborated to their paradigmal ideals. The scattered *Silpa-darpana*, " Mirrors of Art," of the Hindus, are all, so far as I have known them, written in metre, and many who have never been in India remember observing at the Earl's Court Indian Exhibition in the

[1] Simon Ockley, in his wonderful *History of the Saracens*, relates how at the battle of Aignadin, July 13, 633 A.D., wherein the Emperor Heraclius I. was defeated by Kalid, the celebrated general of the Caliphs Abubekr and Omar, the patriotic Arabian women danced behind the rear ranks of the Saracen army, as it advanced to meet the Greeks, singing : " Fight on, fight on, and we kiss you, and embrace you ! Turn not back, turn not back, or we scorn and spurn you ! " On the first charge of the imperial troops the Saracens did turn back, and would have fled, but that the women rallied them with their taunts and gibes ; when, refacing the Greeks, Kalid gained the victory over Heraclius. Of this character must have been the Saltatiunculæ, and Ballistea, or ballads, sung to dancing, and in the tetrametric trochaic step of the war dance of the Roman armies ; and the form of these ballads thus quite naturally became that of the earliest hymns of the Christian Church militant. In the advancing procession of the Muharram, as witnessed in Bombay, the dancing " beat " of the " Tiger-men," and other mummers, is exactly timed to the catalectic tetrametric trochaic ballad metre.

early 'nineties how the Hindu weavers of carpets and other artistic fabrics, chaunted in their archaic patternings to the time of their flying shuttles, with the unfailing ascriptive refrain—*Ram ! Ram !*—" Glory to God in the Highest." The whole worship of the Hindus is hymned. Anthems, antiphons, grayles, introits, proses, and sequences, all are there. And, therefore, it happens that the still living industrial arts of India, and the still living chivalry of Rajputana, and the still living religion of the Hindus —of the Mahrattas and Tamils in special—are the three only " points " whereon there is any possibility of rallying and regenerating the national life of Aryan India—India of the Hindus.

I began by acknowledging my obligations in the preparation of this paper to James Tod and Miss Gabrielle Festing.[1] She has given us all the more notable episodes of the tragic history of Rajasthan in a form that renders them generally accessible to English readers. In their remote atmosphere and outland circumstance they are fairy tales, but of the faery of real life, the direction and control whereof, by a strange eventful Providence, has passed into English hands. But these stories are profitable to us not only in familiarising us with something of the typical history and character of a magnanimous and mighty Indian people, whose future we may make or mar. They are gainful also in stimulating in their English readers those virilities that are as instinctive in themselves as in the Rajputs. The human heart is ever animated and encouraged by the recital of tales of heroism, and Miss Gabrielle Festing's stories, *From the Land of Princes*, cannot but lead those who read them to mark, learn, and consider, with many close and intimate self-

[1] An acknowledgment of my indebtedness is due also to Shri Cheda Sing Varma's " Kshatriyas and would-be Kshatriyas," Allahabad, 1894; and to Shri Purshotam Vishram Mawje's " Shivaji's Swarajya," read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, December 19, 1903.

searchings, the clear, fixed, and unflinching view taken of life and of its inexorable necessities and stern responsibilities by the traditional Rajput gentleman; and to receive into their own bosoms some radiation from the fire and splendour of his steadfast and matchless valours. Where duty calls, the Rajput ideal gentleman knows no whimpering scruples, no debauched and impotent sentimentalities :—

> " Work of his hand
>   He nor commends nor grieves.
> Pleads for itself the Fact—
>   As unrelenting Nature leaves
> Her every Act."

The book has done good among the Rajputs also, if only by the gratification it has given them as a proof of the popular interest in their sacrosanct country of " The Seven States " felt by us in this England of our own :—

> " This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seal of Mars,
> This other Eden.
>
> . . . .
>
> This blessed spot, this Earth, this realm, this England."

It should revive their pride in their own country and themselves, and lead at last to the rebuilding, in pure white marble, of Chitor, on the old ground-plan, still easily to be traced amid the ruins of the city. This would be a national Rajput achievement of the most auspicious political significance.

Of not less felicitous augury would be the dedication, by the Government of India, of the whole Kurukshetra, or " Kuru's-field," the battlefield of Staneshwara, and field of all " the Battles of Panipat," to the perpetual service of the public, as an inviolable sylvan sanctuary, on the scale, and after the manner of " the National Yellowstone

Park" in America; and as an Indian national park worthy at once of the imperial Delhi of the past and of the future.

Furthermore, Miss Festing's book should prepare the way for a new edition of Tod's great work, edited with the same conscientious reverence for the original text of *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, as has been shown by that eminent Orientalist, Mr. William Crooke, for that of his edition of Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, and by Henri Cordier in his edition of Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*. A reproduction of Tod's *Rajasthan*, in the same loyal and worthy spirit and form, would have an immense effect in re-arousing in the Rajputs a beneficent sense of their commanding place alike in the past and the future political life of India. What great publishers (it ought to be the India Office) will commission, say, Mr. Crooke to prepare such an edition for them, brought down to the date of King George's Delhi Durbar? At the parting of ways whereat we stand to-day in India, its publication would do more than the "rattling" of arrows (by party publicists and politicians), the looking into the livers of sacrificial victims (Anglo-Indians), and the mixing of oil and vinegar (in the Indian Viceroy's and the Indian Secretary of State's Councils), to determine the divination, whether to keep forward by the right, wreathed with olives and laurel or roses, or turn to the left, bearing the unsheathed sword to resistless slaughters. The years 1918 and 1957, in the prevision of those who know, not only the history of Hindustan, but something of the hiero-psychical temperament of Hindus, are full of the farthest-reaching fates of the future of *Sri Bharata* (the "weighty" earth whereof, and water, air, and sunshine, I also took truest nativity, and pulsated into this mortal, human life more than fourscore years since), emphasised as these are by the passing, now in actual progression, of the sanctity of the Ganges to the Nerbudda:—a predication that is a

simple induction from an overmastering multitude of ethnographical, physiological, psychological, and historical facts; unbiased by any whisper of the "mystical lore" that comes to all men with "the sunset of life."

ARYAN FLORA AND FAUNA[1]

YOU ask:—"Is there no animal or tree of common occurrence which exists only N.W. of Samarcand or S.E. of it?" or, in other words, in "Western Turkestan" (Sogdiana and Bactriana), and the Punjab ("Vedic India"), respectively. I find it extremely difficult, and in regard to trees quite impossible, to answer Yes or No.

In maps of physical geography the globe is ruled round from the poles to the equator with blue, green, yellow, orange, and red zones of floral and faunal life. The *first* zone of vegetation is the northern glacial zone—called Wahlenberg's—of mosses and lichens and low tufted alpine plants, extending from about 80° to about 70° of northern latitude. The *second* is the zone of winter cold —named after Linnæus—extending from about 70° to about 50° and 45° of northern latitude, and marked by the predominance of firs, pines, larches, and such deciduous trees as the willow, birch,[2] ash, alder, elm, maple, poplar,

[1] A letter to Sir F. Max-Müller—published in his *Biography of Words* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888).—Ed.

[2] On the birch, Sir F. Max-Müller quotes in this *Biography of Words*, p. 104, the following passage from a letter by Sir George Birdwood in *The Times* of September 2, 1887:—"Moreover, the common birch (Betula alba) is not restricted to the parts of the Euro-Asiatic continent westward of the line drawn by Professor Sayce, but is a native of all the colder regions of Europe and Asia. It is found everywhere throughout the Russian Empire, and the oil extracted from it is used in the preparation of Russian leather. Two species are common to the Himalayas—viz. Betula acuminata, found in Tibet and Nepal and the outer ranges of the Himalayas generally; B. Bhojpattra, called bhûrja (i.e. birch) in Sanskrit, and bhûjpattra in the North-West Provinces, a native of Ladak, Lahoul, Cashmere, Spiti, Kunawar, Sikkim, and Bhutan. The inner bark of the bhûrja, which is closely allied to B. papyracea of North America, has been used by the Hindus as paper from the beginning of the Christian era."—Ed.

aspen, and "British" or, as you would say, "German Oak," and by the cranberry, cloudberry, berberry, currant, and other edible berries; and also, in its more temperate areas, by the holly, beech, chestnut, sycamore, plane, hawthorn, and such almost sub-tropical climbers as the ivy, hop, and clematis. The *third* is De Candolle's zone of winter verdure, extending from about 45° to about 25° of northern latitude. It is the zone of the Caucasian range, stretching from the Pyrenees and the Atlas mountains on the West, to the termination of the Kuen-lun mountains in Northern China on the East. It is the enchanting cestus of our Earth-mother, broidered with umbrageous trees, and all the fruits and flowers of the poetry of the Caucasian races, viz. the laurels and myrtle blooms and citron worts, with dark shining evergreen leaves, the vine, fig, olive, walnut, mulberry, pomegranate, peach, apricot, date palm, and tea-plant; the rose, oleander, hyacinth, narcissus and tulip; and the sweet-leaved Labiates, and sweet-seeded Umbellifers. The *fourth* and *fifth* are the tropical and the equatorial zone, together extending from about 20° northern latitude to the equator: and repeated from the equator to about 20° of southern latitude. In the Old World, where I am confining myself, these duplicated zones include Bengal and the Deccan in India, and Ceylon, and Farther India, and the Indian Archipelago, with Northern Australia, and are characterised by such magnificent tree-forms, most of which are indigenous to India (exclusive of Rajputana and Sindh), as the cocoa-nut, "palmyra tree," areca-nut, and other palms; the "Indian fig" trees; the teak, ebony, sandalwood, and satinwood trees; the jack-fruit and bread-fruit trees; the silk cotton trees, and the *pulas* tree (Butea frondosa) which gives its name to the field of Plassey; the spice-bearing laurels, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmeg; and the pepperworts and gingerworts. But these zones lie beyond the limits of your question, and are excluded from further consideration here.

The zones indicated do not everywhere run parallel with the lines of latitude within which they are painted on the charts, like five (or seven) straightly stretched ribbons. They would indeed have done so had this globe been a perfect sphere, and the land and water uniformly distributed over it. But it presents the greatest confusion in the division of its land from its water, and in the contours and levels of its land: circumstances all tending everywhere to deflect the lines of equal temperature, and with them the zones of similar vegetable and animal life, from the roughly corresponding lines of northern and southern latitude. This is particularly the case in the northern hemisphere, more especially in the Old World, and most emphatically in the very regions to which your query refers. Here all the chains of mountains by which the highly integrated configuration of Europe, Asia, and Northern Africa has been determined converge in the stupendous steppe of the Great Pamir, known locally as the *Bam-i-Dumiah*, or "Roof of the World," as in the mighty axle of a six-spoked wheel: from which the Ural mountains stretch northward; the Suleiman mountains southward; and eastward the Himalayas and Kuen-lun mountains, holding up between them the elevated tableland of Tibet; and north-eastward, almost continuously to Behring Straits, the Thian-shan and Altai mountains, leaving between them and the Kuen-lun mountains the wide extended depression of the desert of Gobi, presenting a waterless valley of even greater area than the corresponding basin of the Mediterranean sea; while westward the Caucasian range of the Hindu Kush, Elburz, Caucasus and Taurus mountains stretches continuously to the western coasts of Asia Minor, where it divides into the Balkans, the Alps, and the Pyrenees on the north, and the Lebanon and far projected Atlas mountains on the south; these northern and southern branches of the Caucasian range holding between them the vast valley, which, probably,

within the mythical memory of the Caucasian races (Hamitic, Semitic, and Aryan), if we may so read the Samothracian legend preserved by Diodorus, became converted, by the bursting of the waters of the presumptive Aralo-Caspo-Euxine sea through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, into the Mediterranean sea.

Comparing the zones of vegetation to ribbons, it may be said that they are all brought together about the N.W. frontier of India, and intertwisted into an almost inextricable knot. Indeed you can no longer here arrange the development of vegetable life on the globe in zones (Vegetations-zonen); but must divide it into regions (Florenreiche). India is in latitude within the tropical zone; but the Himalayas and the high plateau of Persia bring down to the plain of the Ganges the climate and vegetation of the zones of Wahlenberg, Linnæus, and De Candolle. The southern slopes of the Himalayas, marked by the prevalence of oak (Quercus incana) and the *deodar* pine, constitute Wallich's Kingdom. Central India and the Deccan, characterised by the tropical plants already enumerated, form Roxburgh's Kingdom; while beyond it, in the Indian Archipelago, is Blume's Kingdom. Persia is Gmelin's Kingdom, and carries the vegetation of De Candolle's zone eastward into the valley of the Indus, i.e. the Punjab (Vedic India) and Sindh, and northward into Western Turkestan, which is also overlapped by the flora of the Siberian Kingdom of Pallas.

There is thus at once a great similarity between the flora of Western Turkestan and of the Indus valley (*India alba*), and a great contrast between the flora of Western Turkestan and of India west and south of the Indus valley—that is, of the Ganges valley and the Deccan (*India nigra*). So many medicinal herbs indigenous to the Punjab grow spontaneously on the sides of the famous Koh Umber, north of Kunduz, that the Turkmans believe this mountain to have been miraculously trans-

lated into their country from India. It is difficult therefore to discriminate between the flora N.E. and S.W. of Samarcand by naming plants either exclusively Inner Asian or exclusively Indian; meaning, that is, plants existing only either in the plain of the Oxus or in the valley of the Indus. It is easy enough to enumerate the assemblage of plant-forms that make up the vegetable physiognomy of each of these countries, and even to name a single plant-form predominant in either of them. There is no "kenspeckle" plant, no plant that would take hold of the popular eye, and the memory of wandering barbarians, characteristic of Western Turkestan; in the same way, for instance, as the "glutinous-birch" and "Weymouth pine" are characteristic of the Highlands of Scotland, and Northern Sweden, and Finland; the oak of Ulster, England north of the Humber, and Scotland south of the Forth, and of Southern Norway and Sweden, and Western and Central Russia; the beech of Southern Ireland and England and Northern France, Denmark, and Germany; Amygdalus nana and various species of Stipa (grasses) the Russian Steppe region from the Black Sea into Upper Inner Asia; and the birch, willow, larch, and fir of the whole of Siberia; the Oriental plane of Anterior Asia; the tragacanth and assafœtida of Northern Persia; and the date-palm of Mesopotamia, Southern Persia, Baluchistan, and Sindh. Botanists cite the Borszczowia Aralo-Caspica as characteristic of Western Turkestan; but it is a plant conspicuous only by the protracted cacophony of its scientific nomenclature. Wood, Schuyler, and Lansdell repeatedly describe the vegetation of Turkestan from the popular point of perception, and over and over again they repeat the names of the same plantation trees, the plane, poplar, birch, elm, willow, ash, fir; and of the same fruit trees, the apple, plum, peach, apricot, fig, mulberry, pistachio, and the vine; and of the same flowering plants, the rose, poppy, and larkspur: plants which are everywhere found growing

in natural or cultivated patches amid the undulating heathlands of grass, furze, broom, wormwood, and liquorice scrub. The assafœtida plant is found all over Western Turkestan, but it is more characteristic of Northern Persia. In the Indus valley the date-palm abounds ; but it grows still more luxuriantly throughout Southern Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. The natives of India are peculiarly apt in identifying countries by their distinguishing plants. In Rajputana they have a famous saying :—

> " *Aonla, aonla,* Mewar ;
> *Bawul, bawul,* Marwar."

They thus identify the Phyllanthus Emblica with the subtropical province of Mewar, and the Acacia arabica with the Mediterranean province of Marwar ; and, if compelled to name a single plant as predominantly characteristic of the Indus valley, and which, although not exclusively found there, does not exist in Turkestan, I should have to name the Acacia arabica. Similarly, if forced to identify a universally popular plant with Western Turkestan, taken in connection with Central Asia generally, I should instance (for I know of none better for the purpose) the thorny shrub which yields the manna called turanjabin throughout the East. It is the " Hyrcanian tree," " occhus " of Pliny, the Alhagi Maurorum of botanists. Its area extends from Nepal and the Southern Mahratta country to Syria, but it yields its manna, for which alone it is " kenspeckle " only in Western Turkestan.

In regard to the geographical distribution of animals, Alfred Russel Wallace, the most philosophical authority on the subject, divides the entire Euro-Asiatic continent into but two regions, namely, the *Palæarctic*, including all Europe, with Northern Africa, and all Asia, excepting Southern Arabia, Yemen, India, Further India, and the Indian Archipelago, which, with all Australasia, he includes in his *Oriental* region. The Palæarctic region he again

subdivides into four sub-regions, namely, the European or trans-Alpine; the Mediterranean or cis-Alpine, including Northern Africa, Asia Minor, Syria, Northern Arabia, Afghanistan, and the Western Punjab; the Siberian or trans-Himalayan; and the Mongolian, including Mongolia, Manchuria, Northern China, and Japan.

Your question has strictly to do only with that portion of the Siberian region immediately north-west of the Hindu Kush, and that portion of the Mediterranean region immediately south-west of it. But it will be observed that immediately south-west of these mountains you have, as in the case of plant-life, to deal with two distinct regions of animal life; that is, the Mediterranean west of the Indus, and the Indian sub-region of the Oriental region east of that river. But as animals exercise something of volition in their movements, and it is easy for animals of the Ganges valley to extend their range into the Punjab, while it is scarcely practicable for any of the larger Indian or Siberian mammals to pass respectively northward or southward through the lofty recesses of the Himalayas, each into the other's natural region, it should be somewhat less difficult than it is in regard to plants, to name some animal of common occurrence that exists only north-west of Samarcand or south-east of it. Wallace names four animals as absolutely restricted to the Siberian sub-region —a peculiar mole, two antelopes, and the *yak*. But deer and moles are found everywhere, and the *yak* is almost entirely confined to the tableland of Tibet. He does not name the dromedary [δρομαὶος κάμηλος—Sanskrit *dandram-yate*, "swift-moving"], which is of common occurrence only in Western Turkestan, its original country; and as in a popular sense it is a most conspicuous and memorable animal, and with its double hump would never be confounded even by the most barbarous of mankind with the single-humped camel of Arabia, I would cite it, "the Bactrian camel," as the exclusively representative animal

of Western Turkestan. For Indian, i.e. Vedic India, I would name "the Bengal tiger." It is the distinctive animal of Oriental rather than of Mediterranean India. But it is occasionally seen roaming along the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush and Elburz mountains as far westward as the Caspian Sea. Pliny tells us that "Hyrcania and India produce the tiger"; and it was as an Hyrcanian rather than an Indian beast that he first appears in English literature. Shakespeare speaks only of "tigers of Hyrcania," and "the Hyrcan tiger," the "Hyrcanian beast" of the players in *Hamlet;* and before him, Daniel, in one of his *Sonnets,* which was probably in Shakespeare's mind when composing *Macbeth,* writes :—

> "Restore thy fierce and cruel mind
> To Hircan tigers, and to ruthless bears."

Unfortunately the range of the tiger extends also northward along the Thian-shan, Altai, and Kuen-lun mountains into China and Japan, and through the eastward confines of Western Turkestan. Still I should not hesitate to name it as the distinctive animal of Vedic India; and with its dazzling colouring, in black and yellow stripes, and its terrific ferocity, so "kenspeckle" a beast, once encountered by "the undivided Aryas," should never have been forgotten by them.

I find it stated, however, in standard ethnological works, I know not on what philological authority, that neither the tiger nor the dromedary were known to them, nor the loud-roaring king of beasts, the lion;[1] which, although an African animal, is common to the whole Mediterranean region as far eastward as Sindh and Kathiawar; and is the same lion in India and Mesopotamia as in Africa. This is

[1] Sir F. Max-Müller noted here: "The tiger, unknown in the Rig-Veda, is known in the Atharva-Veda. If the dromedary could be the ush*t*ra, it would have been known to the Vedic Indians. The vrishabháh kakúdmân is taken for the humped ox. The lion, simha, is well known in the Rig-Veda. The Greek λέων might be the Sanskrit ravan, roaring."—Ed.

strange, if "the Home of the Aryas" was, as I believe, in and about Western Turkestan. We must not, however, forget the great physical changes undergone by the whole of the Uralo-Caspian region in past ages, and which it is still undergoing. The country has visibly altered within the historical memory of its present inhabitants, among whom there is a tradition that in ancient times it was so well wooded that the bulbul (Persian nightingale) could flit from tree to tree all the way from the mountains of Kasghar to the Aral Sea. What I, however, most rely on, after the (to me) sufficiently conclusive arguments of the philologists, is the circumstance that all the traditions of the historical races of mankind, Turanian as well as Caucasian, refer back to Higher Asia as their primitive historical (I will not say ethnologically aboriginal) home; from whence all the leading mountain-ranges of Europe and Asia radiate north, south, east, and west, pointing like road-posts the direction taken by the Turanian nations eastward and northward, and by the Caucasian nations southward and westward, when they first went forth from this universal "officina gentium" to divide the world between them.

Moreover, man himself modifies nature, and, before he has evolved a scientific civilisation, nearly always injuriously; and it is not simply because the temperature of Northern Europe is milder than that of Central Asia and Southern Europe that it is greener than these regions, but because it has not been so long subjected to the corroding influences of the presence of barbarous and semi-civilised humanity. Under these influences India was being gradually reduced, during the decline of the Mo(n)gol Empire, to the blighted condition of Central Asia, and was only saved from this impending doom by the British conquest. Similarly, were extended irrigation and scientific forestry introduced into Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, their pristine verdure and prosperity would gradually be

restored to them; and it would at last be found that in the apparently purposeless subjugation of these countries Russia had fulfilled her highest destiny.[1]

I still [1914] hold this view. Soma is an original Sanskrit word; its root being *su*, "to generate," "extract," "distil,"—as found also in *sura*, "wine," and Suradevi, "the goddess of wine,"—and obviously refers aboriginally to some milky juice of plants like Sarcostemma sps. *Sava* is any juice offered as a libation to the gods; and *savana* the act of offering a libation; *Soma yaji* the offerer of the libation, or "sacrifice"; and *Som-raj*, the "Radiant-Moon." *Soma-Natha*, "the Moon-Lord," i.e. Siva; *Som-war*, "Monday"; and *Soma-lata*—the "Moon-Creeper" of the Hindus, i.e. the *Sarcostemma brevistigma:*—the "Moon-Creeper" of Anglo-Indians being the indigenous Calonyction roxburghii of India. The word *soma* is undoubtedly identical with the Persian *hom*—[compare "Sindh" and "Hind"]; but wherever the date or the vine could be grown, their wine was substituted for that of the aboriginal *som* and *hom* of India and Persia respectively.

[1] As to the *Soma* plant of the Hiridies, Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, discussing its suggested identification with Sarcostemma brevistigma, Aeriploca aphylla, etc., says:—"Both Periploca and Sarcostemma are slightly addicted to climbing. Indeed Sir George Birdwood sees the conventionalised form of Sarcostemma (though it is not clear where it came from) in the Assyrian Honeysuckle ornament, and the suggestion is plausible, though I have my doubts about it. He copies from Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. p. 236, a figure in which it is twined about the date, and adds: 'Possibly the date was substituted for the original *Hom* in Assyria, in consequence of the Aryas finding that they could not naturalise the true Hom plant, or because the date yields a more abundant intoxicating juice. . . . Later the vine took its place in Asia Minor and Greece'" (*Industrial Arts of India*, pp. 336, 337).—Ed.

THE MUHARRAM IN BOMBAY[1]

I

The Origin of the Shīah Schism

LEAVING out of consideration the false prophets "Musailimah the Liar," "al Aswad the Master of the Ass," and Tulaihah, and the prophetess Shijaj, who all set up their pretensions in the year that Mahomet [Muhammad] died, and the terrible al Mokanna, "the veiled prophet of Khorassan," who appeared in the reign of al Modi [Mahdi], the third of the 'Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, as also the fanatical Ismailians, better known under the name of "Assassins,"[2] the Muslims may be divided into the two great sects of Sunnis and Shiahs.

[1] Published in the original form as part of the preface to Sir Lewis Pelly's and Sir Arthur N. Wollaston's *Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain* (London: Allen and Co., 1879), and quoted at some length in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, by the same publishers, 1885.

[2] These Ismailians [Ismailiyah] of Persia and Syria were represented in Turkey by the Carmathians, or followers of the Turk, Harmat, who after being crushed by Sultan Babers in the eleventh century, drivelled out as the Druses of the Lebanon, the stronghold of the Ismailians; whence the chief of the military and religious order of the Assassins [indulgers in *hashish, Cannabis indica*, or "Indian Hemp"] is called by the Arabian historians, *Sheik al Jabal*, "the Old Man of the Mountain." They are represented in the maritime cities of Western India by the "Boras" and Cojas, the most enterprising and prosperous of the Muslims of India. The name Bora is the Anglo-Indian form of the Hindi *Bohra*, and the Gujarati *Vora;* and these of the Sanskrit *Vyavahara*, meaning "Business"-man. They are Gujarati Muslims, converts from various castes of Hindus of Gujarat, trading from the earliest times with the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Eastern Africa. They are found in two main divisions in Gujarat; the village Voras, who are agriculturists, and among the best in India, and to a man Sunni Muslims, and the urban Voras, of whom the Patani Voras alone are Sunnis, and the rest Shiahs: these Shiah Voras being with the cognate Cojas or Khajahs [i.e. *Khwajah*, "Holy"- or

The Sunnis, or "Traditionists," literally "those of the Path," are so called because they acknowledge the authority of the received traditions of the sayings and doings of Mahomet, "the Prophet of God," which the Shiahs, literally the "Followers," utterly reject; and uphold the succession of Abu Bakr, Omar [Umar], and Othman [Usman], whom the Shiahs denounce as usurpers of the Caliphate.

The Shiahs, or Mahometan Dissenters, who sprung up soon after the death of Othman, declare that Ali, "the Lion of God," his two sons Hasan and Husain, and the descendants of the latter, are the only true Imams or Sovereign Pontiffs, and that a belief in their indefeasible and inalienable right to the Caliphate comprises the most important article of the faith of Islam.

The Coreish [Quraish] were the most renowned of the children of Ishmael, and during the fifth century became the head of all the Arab tribes whose centre of worship and of tribal sovereignty was Mecca; and the sanctity of the Caaba [Kabah, i.e. the sacred "Cube"] at Mecca above all other Sabæan shrines had always been recognised by the tribes of peninsular Arabia. In the sixth century Abd Manaf was the Chief of the Coreish and Prince of Mecca, and the second of his family on whom the sacerdotal charge of the Caaba had devolved in direct descent. It was in his time the Abyssinians sent against Mecca the army that was signally defeated by one of his sons, named Hashim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet Mahomet. In consequence of this victory Hashim and his descendants obtained the ascendancy in the tribe of the Coreish, and the custody of the Caaba, that would

"Respectable"- man] of the Ismailian sect of Shiah; that is, Shiahs who, on the death of Jafar, the sixth and last Imam of the united Shiahs, accepted his eldest son Ismail as his successor, instead of his son Musa. On the death of Ismail, the Ismailians, as we write the word, bifurcated, in their turn; the Boras accepting as his successor his eldest son and the Cojas a younger son.

otherwise have passed to Abd Shams, the eldest son of Abd Manaf, and the father of Ommiyah, the progenitor of the Ommiyah Caliphs [Ommiades] of Damascus (A.D. 661–750), and Cordova (A.D. 755–1031); and thus originated the family feud between the Hashimites, as the descendants of Hashim are called, and the house of Ommiyah, which for centuries influenced the whole history of Islam. Abdal Mutallib, the son of Hashim, had three sons, Abdullah, the father of Mahomet, and Abbas, and Abu Talib. Abbas was the progenitor of the Abbasiyah [Abbaside] Caliphs, who, after driving the last of the Ommiades over into Spain, set up their own rule at Baghdad, A.D. 750; where they reigned until the Eastern Caliphate was subverted, A.D. 1258, by the Turks and Mongols under Hulaku Khan, a grandson of Chinghiz Khan. Ali, the son of Abu Talib, married Mahomet's daughter Fatima; and it was Ayesha's jealousy of the children of Mahomet's first wife, Cadijah, and her special antipathy to Ali personally, that at last hastened the family quarrel between the Hashimites and the house of Ommiyah to the tragical catastrophe that is the subject of the Persian *Passion Play of Hasan and Husain.*

The domestic feuds of the Hashimites with the house of Ommiyah thus foreshadowed in complete outline the history of Islam under the Arabs; while the Shiah heresy still divides Islam under the Persians from Islam under the Turks and Mongols. The heterodox Fatimites or Aliades of Egypt were pretenders to a descent from Ali and Fatima. Their colour was green, the wear only of the true lineage of the Prophet; that of the Abbasides black; and of the Ommiades white; the colours of the Ismailians being red and green.

When Mahomet died his religion might have perished with him, and the unruly tribes of Arabia, to whom, through his immense personal influence, he, for the first time in their history, had given political unity and a

national organisation, might have returned to their ancient anarchy, but for the astuteness and energy of Omar, who, so long as he lived, remained the ruling spirit of Islam. There were four claimants to the Caliphate :—Ali, the first cousin of the Prophet, and the husband of Fatima, his youngest daughter and only surviving child ; Abu Bakr, " the Father of the Virgin," that is, of Ayesha, the favourite wife of Mahomet ; Omar, the father of Hafsah, another of his wives ; and Othman, the only member of the house of Ommiyah who had voluntarily embraced the religion of the Prophet, and who had married two of his daughters, both of whom were now dead, as were also their children.

Beyond doubt the succession lay with Ali ; but Ayesha, who had never forgiven Ali for inclining his ear to the scandalous charge of incontinence against her, successfully used her influence to prevent his election. All the Coreish also of the house of Ommiyah were opposed to Ali. The disruption of Islam seemed imminent. It was actually proposed to elect two chiefs ; when Omar vehemently forbade it, exclaiming :—" Two blades cannot go into one scabbard." Then Abu Bakr proposed Omar as worthy of the succession, whereon Omar suddenly rising up hailed Abu Bakr as Caliph ; and stepping forward, bowed down and kissed his hand in token of allegiance, and swore to obey him as his sovereign. The example of Omar being followed by all present, he at once ascended the pulpit and publicly proclaimed Abu Bakr. He went so far, it is said, as to surround the house of Fatima, and threaten to burn it down, and put all within to death, unless they acknowledged the newly-chosen Caliph. Ali accepted the election in words, but spurned it in his heart, and retired from Mecca into the desert of Arabia, with his two sons Hasan and Husain, the only surviving grandchildren of Mahomet. To this day their descendants are considered noble in every country of Islam, and wear the

green turban as the outward sign of their almost sacred lineage.

On the death of Abu Bakr, Ayesha secured the election of Omar; and Ali, seeing that opposition was useless, acquiesced. When Omar died the Caliphate was offered to Ali, on the condition that he would govern according to the Coran [Quran], and the Traditions of Mahomet established by Abu Bakr and his successor. Ali replied that he would govern according to the Coran, but in other respects he would act on his own judgment, without reference to "the traditions of the elders." This reply not being satisfactory, the election devolved on Othman. He at once advanced different members of the house of Ommiyah to the highest and most responsible offices in the Empire; and Muawiyah, the son of Abu Sofyan, the deadliest enemy of the descendants of Hashim, he appointed Governor of Syria. Othman was assassinated A.H. 35 (A.D. 655); and on Ali being at last elected, on his own terms, and in spite of the opposition of Ayesha, to the Caliphate, one of his first acts was to recall Muawiyah from Syria. Muawiyah refused to obey, and claimed the Caliphate for himself, a pretension wherein he was supported by Ayesha.

In "the Battle of the Camel," so called because the vindictive virago herself was present mounted on a camel, Ali was victorious, and Talhah, the grand-nephew of Abu Bakr, and Zobair, the cousin of Mahomet, the commanders of the rebels, were both killed, and Ayesha was taken prisoner. The contest was renewed at Siffin; and notwithstanding that the Syrian army was led by Muawiyah in person, Ali had almost won, when a device of Amrou [ben el Ass], the conqueror of Egypt, suddenly paralysed the onset of the Caliph's army in the very moment of victory. That arch-intriguer ordered his soldiers to raise copies of the Coran on their spears, and to shout as they advanced:—"Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow;

if the Syrian army be destroyed who will defend the frontier against the Greeks ? If the army of Irak be destroyed who will defend it against the Persians and Turks ? Let the word of God decide between us!" "God is great!" shouted back the army of Ali, "we must all submit to the arbitrament of the Book."

It was in vain that Ali protested against the false and hollow pretence of Amrou ; and the two armies arranged that the claims of Ali and Muawiyah should be adjudicated by two arbitrators, one chosen by each side. Immediately a controversy broke out among Ali's troops as to the lawfulness of this mode of settling the dispute ; and on his arriving at Cufa, twelve thousand of them, who had been the most clamorous to abide by the decision of the Coran, deserted from him. These men were the original Kharegites [Khawarij], or "Separatists," a heretical sect of Muslims who reject the lawful government established by public consent. Ali never recovered this defection. While he was gathering together a fresh army against his enemies, three of these Kharegites met by accident, as pilgrims, in the mosque at Mecca, and joining at first in lamentations over the dissensions of the Faithful, ended in planning a sort of Nihilist plot to assassinate on one and the same day Muawiyah, Amrou, and Ali, to whose rivalry they attributed all the troubles of Islam. The names of the conspirators were Barak, Amrou, and Abdulrahman [Ibn Muljam].

Barak repaired to Damascus, and on Friday, the 17th Ramazan, while Muawiyah was officiating in the mosque, struck at him what was intended to be a fatal blow. But though the wound was desperate, Muawiyah recovered. Amrou, the second of the assassins, at the same hour entered the mosque in Cairo, and at one blow killed Karijah, who happened to be officiating there, imagining him to be Amrou ben el Ass. Being led to execution the murderer calmly exclaimed :—" I intended Amrou, but God intended

Karijah." The third conspirator, Abdulrahman, repaired to Cufa, where, as Ali entered the mosque, he felled him to the ground by a blow on the head, A.H. 40 (A.D. 660). Ali's body was buried five miles out of Cufa ; and in after times a magnificent tomb was erected over his grave, which became the site of the famous city of Meshed (Ali), or "the Sepulchre of Ali." On his death his eldest son Hasan (i.e. "The Handsome") was elected to the Caliphate without opposition, but he resigned it in favour of Muawiyah, on condition that he should resume it on the death of the latter ; who had the less scruple in assenting to the arrangement, owing to his secret determination that his son Yazid should be his successor. At the instigation of Muawiyah, Hasan was poisoned by his wife, A.H. 49 (A.D. 668). In his last agonies his brother Husain asked him to name whom he supposed to be his murderer, but Hasan refused, saying :—"This world is only for a night, leave my murderer alone until we meet at the Judgment Day before the Most High God."

Hasan had several wives ; and one of them was the beautiful daughter of Yezdegird III, the last of the Sassanian Kings of Persia. He left altogether fifteen sons and five daughters. It was his wish to be buried by the sepulchre of Ali, but the implacable Ayesha refused her consent, and his body was laid in the common burial-ground beyond the city. Ayesha herself died A.H. 56 (A.D. 676). The story is told of how she was trapped by Muawiyah down a well, masked all over with green branches, through which, as, in response to his warm welcome, she entered the garden, the masterful and dignified dowager subsided softly into everlasting night. The miscreant Muawiyah himself died A.H. 60 (A.D. 679). He was succeeded by his son Yazid, "the Polluted," without election ; and thus was established the dynasty of the Ommiades at Damascus, where they reigned for one hundred years in the unfading splendour of their ever-rising renown. But the family feud between

the descendants of Hashim and Abd Shams, the sons of Abd Manaf, continued without abatement, and Islam was definitively rent asunder by the great Shiah schism.

Shortly after the accession of Yazid, Husain received at Mecca secret messages from the people of Cufa, entreating him to place himself at the head of the Faithful in Babylonia. Yazid, however, had full intimation of the intended revolt, and long before Husain could reach Cufa, the too easy Governor of that city had been replaced by Obaidallah, the resolute ruler of Bussorah, who, by his rapid measures, disconcerted the plans of the conspirators, and drove them to a premature outbreak, and the surrender of their leader Muslim. The latter foresaw the ruin which he had brought on Husain, and shed bitter tears on that account when captured. His head was struck off and sent to Yazid. On Husain arriving at the confines of Babylonia he was met by Harro [al Hurr], who had been sent out by Obaidallah, with a body of horsemen, to intercept his approach. Husain, addressing them, asserted his title to the Caliphate, and invited them to submit to him. Harro replied :—" We are commanded as soon as we meet you to bring you directly to Cufa into the presence of Obaidallah the son of Ziyad." Husain answered :—" I would sooner die than submit to that " : and gave the word to his men to ride on ; when Harro at once wheeled about and intercepted them. At the same time Harro said :—" I have no commission to fight with you, but I am commanded not to part with you until I have conducted you into Cufa " : and he bade Husain choose any road into that city " that did not go directly back to Mecca " ; and " do you," he added, " write to Yazid, or to Obaidallah ; and I also will write to Obaidallah, and perhaps, should it please God, something may happen to relieve me from being forced to an extremity on your account." Then he retired his force a space to allow of Husain leading the way towards Cufa ; and Husain took

the road that goes by Adib and Cadisia. This was on Thursday the 1st of Muharram [the first month of the Muslim year] A.H. 61 (A.D. 680). When darkness fell he still continued his march, and all through that pregnant night. As he rode, he once nodded a little, and waking again, said :—" Men travel by night, and the destinies travel toward them ; this I know to be a message of death."

In the morning after prayers, he mended his pace ; and, as he rode on and on, there rode up a horseman, who, however, took no notice of Ḥusain, but went past him and saluted Harro, to whom he delivered a letter, giving him orders from Obaidallah to conduct Husain and his men into a place where was neither town nor fortification, and there leave them until the Syrian forces should surround them. This was on Friday, the 2nd of Muharram. The day after, Amir the son of Said came upon them with four thousand men, who were to have marched to Dailam. They had been encamped without the walls of Cufa ; and when Obaidallah heard of Husain's approach, he commanded Amir to defer his march to Dailam, and go against Ḥusain. But one and all dissuaded him :—" Beware that you go not against Husain, and rebel against God, and so cut off His mercy from you ; for you had better be deprived of the dominion of the whole world than meet the Lord your God with the blood of Husain on your hands." Amir was fain to acquiesce ; but upon Obaidallah renewing his command with threats, he marched against Husain, and came up with him, as aforesaid, on Saturday, the 3rd of Muharram.

On Amir sending to inquire of Husain what brought him thither, the latter replied :—" The Cufans wrote to me, but since they reject me, I am willing to return to Mecca." Amir was glad when he heard this, and said :—" I hope to God I may be excused from fighting against him." Then he wrote to that purpose to Obaidallah, but

Obaidallah sternly replied :—" Get between him and the river." Amir did so ; and the name of the place where he cut Husain off from the Euphrates was called Kerbela [Karbala] :—*Karb* (anguish) and *Bala* (vexation) : " Trouble and affliction," said Husain when he heard of it.

Then Husain sought a conference with Amir, whereat he proposed either to go to Yazid, or to return to Mecca, or (as some add, but others deny) to fight against the Turks. Obaidallah was at first inclined to accede to these conditions, until Shimar stood up and swore that no terms should be made with Husain ; adding significantly that he had been informed of a long conference between Husain and Amir. Then Obaidallah sent Shimar with orders to Amir that if Husain would surrender unconditionally he would be received ; if not, Amir was to fall upon him and his men, and trample them under his feet. Should Amir refuse to do so, Shimar was to strike off his head, and himself command the attack against Husain. Thus passed Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of Muharram. On the evening of the 9th, Amir drew up his forces close to Husain's camp, and himself galloped up to Husain as he was sitting in the door of his tent just after the evening prayer, and told him of the conditions offered by Obaidallah. Husain desired Amir to give him time until the next morning, when he would make his answer.

In the night his sister came weeping to his bedside, and awakening him, exclaimed :—" Alas for the desolation of my family ! my mother Fatima is dead, and my father Ali, and my brother Hasan. Alas for the destruction that is past ! and alas for the destruction that is to come ! " " Sister," Husain replied, " put your trust in God, and know that man is born to die, and that the very heavens shall not remain ; everything shall pass away but the presence of God, Who created all things by His power, and shall make them by His power to pass away, and

resolve back into Himself, and He only shall remain. My father was better than I, and my mother was better than I, and my brother was better than I; and they and we, and all Muslims, have an example in the 'Prophet of God.'" Then he told his men that Obaidallah wanted to take none but him; and that they should go away to their homes. But they said:—"God forbid that we should ever see the day wherein we survive you!" Whereupon he commanded them to cord their tents close together, and make a line of them, to keep out the enemy's horse. And he dug out a trench behind his camp, and filled it with wood, to be set on fire, so that he could only be attacked in front. The rest of the night he spent in prayer and supplication, while the enemy's guard unceasingly patrolled round and round the camp.

The next morning both sides prepared for the slaughter. Husain first washed and anointed himself with musk, and several of his chief men did likewise; and one asking them what it meant, Husain replied pleasantly:—"Alas! there is nothing between us and the black-eyed girls of Paradise but that these troopers come down upon us and slay us!" Then he mounted his horse, and set the Coran before him, crying:—"O God, thou art my trust in every trouble, my hope in every hazard"; and submitted himself to the judgment of his companions before the opened pages of the sacred volume. On this his sister and daughters began to weep, when he cried out in bitter anguish, self-reproachfully:—"God reward the son of Abbas"—in allusion to advice his cousin, Abdullah ibn Abbas, had given him to leave the women behind in Mecca.

The next moment a party of the enemy's horse wheeled about and came up to Husain, who expected to be attacked by them. But it was Harro, who had quitted the ranks of the Syrian army, and had now come to die with Husain, and testify his repentance before men and God. As Harro

rode into the doomed camp he shouted back to Amir :—"Alas for you !" whereupon Amir commanded his men to bring up the colours. As soon as they were set in front of the troops, Shimar shot an arrow into the camp, crying out :—"Bear witness that I shot the first arrow" ; and so the fight began in dire earnest. It raged in a series of single combats, until noonday, when both sides retired to prayer ; Husain adding to the usual office the "Prayer of Fear," never used but in the darkest extremity of evil fates. Shortly afterward, the fight was renewed, and Husain was struck on the head by a sword. Faint with the loss of blood he sat down by his tent, and took up on his lap his young son Abdullah, who was in the same instant slain by a flying arrow. He placed the gracious corpse upon the ground, crying out :—"We come from God, and we return to Him : O God, give me strength to bear these chastisements." Parched with thirst, he ran towards the Euphrates ; where, as he stooped to drink, an arrow pierced him through the mouth. Raising his hands, all besmeared and dripping with blood, to heaven, he stood there for a while, and prayed earnestly. His nephew, a most beautiful child, who went up to kiss him, had his dear little hand cut off with a sword ; and Husain again wept bitterly, saying :—"Thy reward, dearest innocent child, is with thy fathers in the realms of their everlasting bliss."

Hounded on by Shimar, the Syrian troops now surrounded Husain ; and he, nothing daunted, charged them, and again and again, and on the right hand and the left, like a lion at bay. In the midst of the fighting his sister came in between him and his slayers, demanding of Amir how he could dare stand by and see Husain slain. With tears trickling down his beard, Amir turned his face away ; but Shimar, with threats and curses, set on his soldiers again ; and at last one wounded Husain upon the hand, and a second gashed him across the nape of his neck, and

a third thrust him right through the body with a spear. And no sooner had he fallen to the ground than the infamous Shimar rode a troop of horsemen over his corpse, repeatedly and remorselessly, backwards and forwards, until it was trampled into the very ground, a scarcely recognisable mass of cruelly mangled flesh and blood.

Thus, twelve years after the death of his brother Hasan, Husain, the second son of Ali, met his own death on the bloody plain of Kerbela, on Saturday, the 10th day of Muharram, A.H. 61 (A.D. 680). This is the "Martyrdom of Husain," celebrated every year during the first days of Muharram by the Shiahs over all India and Persia; and with an intensity of feeling that ever keeps gaping between the Sunni and Shiah Muslims the perennially festering wound first opened more than twelve hundred years ago; and lends to the performance of the "Miracle Play," in all its scenes and incidents of the last days of the Imam Husain, the character of the most poignant reality. You yourself, "dog of a Nazarene" though you be, are, for the time being, a convinced and frenzied Shiah Muslim.

Though the personal history of Ali and his sons was the exciting cause of the Shiah schism, its predisposing cause lies far deeper in the impassable ethnological gulf that separates the Aryan and Semitic races. Owing to their strongly centralised form of government the empire of the Sassanides succumbed at once before the onslaught of the Saracens. Still Persia was never really converted to Islam; and when Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of Abdullah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet Mahomet, proclaimed the Imamate as inherent of divine right in the descendants of the Caliph Ali, the vanquished Persians rose as one man against their Arab conquerors. The sons of Abbas had all espoused the cause of their cousin Ali against Muawiyah; and when Yazid succeeded to the Caliphate, Abdullah refused to acknowledge him and retired to Mecca. It was he who tried to dissuade

Husain from going to Cufa. His son was Ali, who by order of the Caliph Walid was flogged and paraded through the streets of Damascus, mounted on a camel with his face to the beast's tail; and it was to avenge this insult on his father that Muhammad resolved to overthrow the dynasty of the Ommiades.

The Persians, in their hatred of the Arabs, had from the first accepted the rights of the sons of Ali and Fatima to the Imamate; and Muhammad cunningly represented to them that the Imamate had been transmitted to him by Abou Hashim, the son of Muhammad, another son of the Caliph Ali, whose mother was a daughter of the tribe of Hanifa. This was a gross fraud on the descendants of Fatima; but the Persians cared not, so long as they threw off the Arab yoke. When Muhammad died A.H. 124 (A.D. 742), they at once acknowledged his son Ibrahim as Imam, and on the latter being taken prisoner by the Caliph Merwan, he transmitted the Imamate to his brother Abdullah, who overthrew his Ommiade antagonist in the battle of Zab, and was proclaimed Caliph at Cufa A.H. 132 (A.D. 749). Thus fell the last eastern Caliph of the House of Ommiyah; and thus arose on its ruins the dynasty of the House of Abbas, that reigned at Baghdad until A.D. 1258.

The Persians were oppressed by the Abbasides as intolerably as they had been by the Ommiades; but as the vigour of the Caliphate began to abate they again rose in rebellion. In 808 Yacub, the son of a brazier (*saffar*), of Siestan, subdued Kabul, Balk, and Fars, and threatened Baghdad itself. His brother, who succeeded him, was overthrown by Ismail Samani, the founder of the Samanian dynasty of Khorassan and Bokhara. At the same time the Dailamy or Bouyide dynasty, so called after Ab'ul Bouya, a fisherman, of Dailam, on the Caspian, established themselves in Fars and Irak. In the contentions that began to distract and undermine the Caliphate

at Baghdad during the tenth century, the Sunnis all ranged themselves under the Turks, while the Shiahs adopted the cause of the Bouyides. It was Asadud Daulah (A.D. 977–82), the grandson of the fisherman of Dailam, who restored the sacred buildings of Kerbela. The native Safawi dynasty of Persia, which succeeded to the Mongol dynasties, and immediately preceded the present Kajar dynasty, derived its descent directly from the Caliph Ali, through Ismail Safi, the son of Sultan Haidar, the founder of the Haidari sect of Shiahs.

II

Celebration of the Martyrdom

The martyrdom of Hasan and Husain is celebrated by the Shiahs all over India during the first ten days of the month of Muharram,—beginning when the new moon that ushers in the month is first seen. Attached to every great Shiah's house is an Imambarrah—a hall or enclosure—built expressly for the celebration of the anniversary of the death of Husain. The enclosure is generally arcaded along its sides, and, in most instances, is covered in with a domed roof. Against the side of the Imambarrah directed toward Mecca is set the *tabut*—also called *tazia*—or model of the tombs at Kerbela. In the houses of the wealthier Shiahs these *tabuts* are standing " appointments," faultlessly fashioned of silver and gold, or of ivory and ebony, embellished all over with inlaid work. The poorer Shiahs provide themselves with a *tabut* made for the occasion, of lath and plaster, tricked out with mica, and silvern, and golden, and greenish tinsels.

A week before the new moon of the Muharram they enclose a space called the *tabut kana*, wherein the *tabut* is prepared; and at the very moment the new moon is first seen a spade is struck into the ground before " the

Enclosure of the Tombs." A pit is then dug there, and filled up with wood, and lighted, the fire being kept burning through all the ten days of the Muharram solemnities. Those who cannot afford to erect a *tabut kana*, or even to put together a little *tabut* or *tazia* in their dwelling-house, always have a Muharram fire lighted, although it may consist of only a night-light floating at the bottom of an earthern pot or basin sunk in the ground. It is doubtful whether this custom refers to the trench of fire Husain set blazing behind his camp; or is a survival from the immemorially older *Ashura* ("ten days") festival said to have been instituted in commemoration of the deliverance of the Hebrew Semites from Pharaoh and his host at the Red Sea; or derived from the yet more ancient Bael fires; but, in India at least, these Muharram fires, especially among the more ignorant populace,—Hindus as well as Mahometans—are regarded with the most profound awe, and have a greater hold on their reverence than the *tabuts* themselves. All day long the passers-by stop before these fires, and make their vows over them; and all night long the crowds dance round and leap through them, and scatter about burning brands snatched therefrom.

The *tabut* is lighted up, like an altar, with innumerable green-coloured wax candles; and nothing can be more resplendent than the appearance of an Imambarrah of white stone, or polished white stucco, picked out in green and gold, all a-glowing with lighted glass chandeliers, and polished brass sconces, and with oil lamps arranged along the leading architectural lines of the building, its *tabut* on one side, of white, and gold, and green, dazzling to blindness. Before the *tabut* are placed the "properties" to be used by the celebrants in the "Passion Play," the bows and arrows, the sword and spear, and the banners of Husain, etc.; and in front of it is set a movable pulpit, also made of the costliest materials, and covered with rich brocades of green, and shimmering gold, and white.

Such is the theatre wherein, twice daily during the first ten days of the month of Muharram, the deaths of the first martyrs of Islam are yearly commemorated in India. Each day has its special solemnity, corresponding with the succession of events during the ten days that Husain was encamped on the fatal plain of Kerbela ; but the prescribed order of the services in the daily development of the great Shiah function of the Muharram would appear not to be always strictly observed in Bombay.

During the four days after the *tabuts* have been carried to the houses of those who do not possess permanent representations of the tombs of Kerbela, there is little of unusual excitement to be observed among the Shiahs in any Indian city ; and this time is usually devoted by them to paying visits to each others' *tabut kanas*, and Imambarrahs. Women and children as well as men are allowed to enter them ; and Hindus and Christians, if they please, may join the company. Only the Sunni Mahometans are denied, and, under the English rule, prevented admission, —simply as a police precaution.

The thronging visitors at first cover the whole area of the enclosure, laughing and talking like the crowd at a fair. But in the midst of the hubbub a signal is given, usually by the muffled beating of a big drum in slow time, the measured beats becoming fainter and more faint, until, step by step, the people fall back into their places, and are at length hushed in a silence of the most expressive dramatic impression. Then a *mullah* enters the pulpit, and intones a sort of " argument " or prelude to the play. He begins in some such form as this :—" O ye Faithful, give ear !—and open your hearts to the wrongs and sufferings of His Highness the Imam Ali, the Vicegerent of the Prophet of God, and let your eyes flow with tears, as water from a river, for the woes that befell their Highnesses the beloved Imams Hasan and Husain, the foremost of the bright youths of Paradise."

For a while he proceeds amid the deep silence of the eager audience ; but as he tremulously chants on, they will be observed to be swaying to and fro, and all together ; at first almost imperceptibly, but gradually with a motion that becomes more and more marked. Suddenly, a stifled sob is heard, and again a cry, followed by more and more sobbing and crying, and rapidly the swaying to and fro becomes a violent agitation of the whole assembly ; when, in a moment, it arises to its feet in a mass as one man, each one smiting his breast with open hand, and raising the wild rhythmic wail :—" *Ya Ali ! Ai Hasan Ai Husain, Ai Hasan Ai Husain, Husain Shah !* " As the wailing gathers force and threatens to become ungovernable, a chorus of mourners, that has formed almost without observation on the arena, begins chanting in regular Gregorian mood a metrical version of the story ; and this calls back the audience to itself, and, imperceptibly, at last soothes and bequiets it again. At the same time the celebrants come forward, and take up the " properties " before the *tabut ;* and one represents Husain, another al Abbas his standard-bearer, another Harro, and another Shimar ; all going through their several parts (every now and then explained by the chorus), not after the manner of actors, but of earnest men, absorbed in some high sacrament, and without consciousness of themselves or their audience.

The first day's performance should represent the departure of Husain, against the moving entreaties of his family, from Mecca, and the subsequent murder of his nephew Kasim ; and so day after day each succeeding act of the events at Kerbela should be represented. It is open to question whether this is ever actually done in India as it is in Persia ; but always on the fifth day the banners of Husain and his children are taken in procession through the streets, and his horse paraded, attended by men bearing *murchals* [peacock tails], and *chauries* [whisps

made of yak tails, or of shreds of ivory or sandalwood], and *aftabis* [banners embroidered in gold with the figure of the sun], insignia recognised everywhere in the East as the most imposing symbols of royalty and empire. On the seventh day the marriage of Cossim is represented by a wedding procession through the streets by torchlight, a quire of young men chanting funeral dirges (in place of the usual troop of dancing girls) going before the bridegroom, who is distinguished from the rest by a golden or silvern umbrella held over his head. On the tenth day, in commemoration of the death of Husain, the *tabuts* are carried to the Muslim cemetery, as representing "the plain of Kerbela," and at magnificent Bombay—as rebuilt by the magnificent-minded Sir Bartle Frere—into the sea; which in Bombay does not simply stand mystically for the Euphrates, but is regarded as that river itself, seeing that in a sense it may be said to flow down the coast of Western India. When Husain's horse is led into the arena of the Imambarrah, and his little sons, and daughters, and nephews appear on the scene, seated on thrones carried on men's shoulders, the rage and agony of the people become uncontrollable; and for this reason no representations of the dead Husain, or of his children, or horse, are allowed through the streets of Bombay, for fear of exciting outrages against the Sunnis.

On this 10th of Muharram every house wherein a *tabut* is kept, or has been put up for the occasion, sends forth its separate cavalcade, or its company on foot, to join the general funeral procession; which in the native Muslim States sometimes assumes the character of a most imposing military pomp. First go the musicians, with pipes and cymbals, and uplifted straight horns, and enormous curly ones, and deafening drums, followed by the arms and banners of Hasan and Husain, and the crests, and other badges in gold and silver, or other metals, of Ali and Fatima, and these by a chorus of men chanting a funeral

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dirge, and they in turn by Husain's horse. Next come men bearing censers of burning myrrh, and frankincense, and aloes wood, and gum-benjamin, before the *tabut*, or model of the tombs of Hasan and Husain, upraised on poles, or borne aloft on an elephant. Models of the sepulchre of Ali, and that of Mahomet at Medina, and representations of the Seraph-Beast *Burak*, whereon Mahomet is said to have performed his journey from Jerusalem to Heaven, are also carried along after the *tabut*.

There may be one or two hundred of these separate foot companies, and cavalcades, in the general procession; and it is further swollen by crowds of faquirs, and clowns or "Muharram faquirs," got up for the occasion in marvellously fantastic motley, figuring, one as "Jack Priest," another as "King Tatterdemalion," and others as "King Clout," "King Ragamuffin," "King Double Dumb," and a hundred like "doubles" of the retinue of the "Lord of Misrule," or "Abbot of Unreason," of our Catholic forefathers. An immense concourse of people, representatives of every country and costume of Central and Southern Asia, runs along with the endless procession.

In Bombay, after gathering its contingent from all the Shiah households, as it winds its way through the tortuous streets of the native town, the living stream at length emerges upon the Esplanade on the side bordering Back Bay; the whole green Esplanade,—"the plain of Kerbela" for the day,—from Bombay Harbour to Back Bay lying almost flush with the deep blue sea, with its white selvedge of sleepy surf. The commotion and uproar of its advance can be heard a mile away, and long before the procession takes definite shape through the clouds of dust and incense that move before it. It moves headlong onward in an interminable line of glancing swords and glittering spears, and blazoned suns (*aftabis*) and waving banners, and state umbrellas, and thrones, and canopies, and, exalted above all, the *tabuts*, framed of the most elegant shapes of Sara-

cenic architecture, gleaming in white and green and gold, and rocking backwards and forwards in mid air,—like great ships upon a rolling sea,— from the rapid movement of the hurrying multitudes, all swarming westward to the banging, rattling, yelling of drums, blowings of horns, shrillings of pipes, crashing of cymbals, and the ceaseless minatory wail of "*Ya Ali! Ai Hasan Ai Husain, Ai Hasan Ai Husain, Husain Shah!* [drowned, drowned, drowned, in blood, in blood, in blood; all three, fallen, and prostrate, and dead!] *Ya Ali! Ai Hasan Ai Husain, Ai Hasan Ai Husain, Husain Shah!*"—until the whole welkin rings and pulsates with the wide, delirious, reverberating wail. Ever and anon a band of naked men, drunk with opium or hemp, and painted up like tigers or leopards, makes a rush through the ranks of the procession, leaping furiously, and brandishing their swords, and spears, and clubs in the air. The route, however, is strictly defined by a line of native policemen, and before these representatives of British law and order, the infuriated zealots will suddenly bring themselves at full charge to an emphatic halt, and wheel round, and retreat back into the body of the procession, howling and shrieking like a scared and scattered flight of baffled fiends.

And so for a mile in length, the far resounding, incense-fuming, flashing and flaring, flaunting and fluttering, towering and tottering, surging and staggering old-world pagan pageant swirls and sweeps on against the rays of the now declining sun, until the sea is reached; where it unfolds itself, and spreads itself out, along the long white beach in a line at right angles to its "processional path" across the Esplanade. Nothing can be more picturesque than the arrival and tumultuous break up of the procession in Back Bay. The temporary *tabuts* are taken out into the sea as far as they can be carried, and abandoned to the waves; and together with them all the temporary adornments stripped off the permanent *tabuts* of the

wealthy ; the dancing iridescence and sparkle and sheen of it all reviving the vision of the tossed about flotsam and jetsam of the Israelites, when, overburdened and top-heavy with the spoil of the Egyptians, they excitedly stumbled across the flooded ford at the head of the Gulf of Suez to save the recapture of their well-gotten plunder by the pursuing cohorts of the Pharaoh Amenophis IV.

The operation has a wonderfully cooling effect on the mob. Their frantic clangours and clamours immediately cease. In ironic fact, the mourners for Hasan and Husain, having buried their *tabuts* in the sea, seize their opportunity to have a good bath ; and a little after the sun has finally dropped below the western horizon, the whole of the vast crowd is seen in the vivid moonlight to be slowly and peacefully regathering itself across the wide extended Esplanade towards their homes again. Thus the Saturnalia into which the last act of the " Mystery of Hasan and Husain " has degenerated in India, is closed for another year.

Up country, where the *tabuts* are carried to the Muslim cemeteries, and Sunnis and Shiahs meet face to face before the gaping graves of Hasan and Husain, the feuds between them, that have been pent up the previous twelve-months, would—in my day—often have been fought out to a bloody end, but for the vigilance of the authorities. The custom of carrying the *tabuts* into the sea at Bombay no doubt contributes to the peace in which the Muharram is observed by the Muslims of that city ;—the stateliest, and most picturesque of the great maritime marts of austral Asia.

The 11th and 12th of Muharram should be spent in meditation by the graves wherein the *tabuts* have been laid, and in Bombay beside the sad seashore ; but as a spectacle the Muharram celebration is over with the mad, weird masquerade,—Lupercalian, and Salian, but never Corybantic in its madness,—of the tenth day. The procession on that day is all that is known to " the general "

of Europeans of the celebration of "The Muharram" in India; whence it is popularly designated by them, from the semi-voluntary corruption between their lips of its repeatedly recurring wail of *Ai Hasan Ai Husain*, as "Hobson-Jobson"![1]—the title given by Sir Henry Yule to his great and most fascinating glossary of similar Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases.

[1] *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (New edition. London: John Murray, 1903), in which Sir Henry Yule repeatedly quotes from Sir George Birdwood's writings.—Ed.

LEPER IN INDIA

"Where a plague becomes endemic, there the sanitary laws have been neglected."—MENANDER.

IN neither of its two forms [*Lepra maculosa* and *Lepra tuberculosa*, seu *nodosa*, i.e. "Elephantiasis," familiar to English people, in its most observable phase, under the names of "Barbadoes Leg," and "Cochin Leg"] is true leper[1] [*Lepra Arabum*] really infectious; and if it be contagious, its contagion is extremely sluggish, and operative only under telluric, atmospheric, and other extrinsic conditions predisposing to its independent development. Even when the disease has established itself, its progress has to be measured by years; and in its earlier stages it may lie latent throughout a lifetime.

Among Anglo-Indians I knew of a leprous husband whose wife never showed a symptom of the taint; and also of a leprous couple whose two grown-up and remarkably beautiful daughters are perfectly free from all trace of it. Again, in the case of a great personal friend of my own, the disease, since first making its appearance half a century ago, has never advanced beyond a narrowly localised, slightly pallid and benumbed spot, with a concomitant numbness of the nervous system, marked most prominently by the complete quelling of the extreme energy of both mind and body that distinguished my friend when I first made his acquaintance 55 years ago. In England his symptoms remain in absolute abeyance,

[1] See Skeat; and II. Kings v. 11 (R.V.):—"Behold, I thought, he will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord, his God, and wave his hand over the place, and recover the leper."

and only when he is in India do they show the slightest tendency to excitation. If Father Damien's leper was not spontaneously generated, but was indeed derived from the leperds he nursed (a thing antecedently incredible to anyone familiar with the disease in India), then its introduction into his system was most probably owing to some entirely accidental circumstance, such as his direct intoxication with it through a cut or abrasion of the skin. But a similar misadventure is not likely to happen a second time. I once had to drink a cup of lemon sherbet prepared under my eyes by a leperd ; but I never for a moment apprehended any danger from the draught, or most assuredly I should not have taken it, or not simply, as I did in this instance, out of polite consideration for the feelings of my Muslim host.

As for the horror of leperds that has been revived by the sensational treatment of the subject in recent years, nothing could be more ignorant, heedless, and unfortunate. The true panacea of medical science is the light and life that flows in upon the sick from the sympathy of others ; while the consciousness enforced on the leperds of being shunned by everyone is the darkest feature of their affliction. Yet contact with syphilis and cancer is just as offensive, and, as regards the former, far more hazardous.

The English public has, indeed, never fully realised how widely syphilis may be diffused by every conceivable accident of casual contact, notwithstanding that the history of its advent and progress, both in India and Europe, is full of significance on the point. In its dangerous modern forms it was unknown to the ancients, probably because of personal cleanliness having formed an essential part of godliness equally among the Hebrews and the pagan Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Phœnicians, and Greeks and Romans. On the other hand, the people of mediæval Christendom had sunk into so disgusting a condition of personal and domestic defilement, that this

swinish disease might, at any time, have been spontaneously developed among them. Actually its virus was imported from the New World by the sailors Columbus brought back with him from the West Indies to Cadiz, in 1493. It broke out with great virulence in the French army [whence its unfair designation of "lues Gallica"[1]] commanded by Charles VIII, at the siege of Naples in 1495, and from this point was disseminated within twenty-five years throughout Europe, carrying off, among its first great victims, the contemporary Grand Duke of Moscow.

Owing, it may be premised, to the constant ceremonial ablutions of the Hindus, it was absolutely unknown in India before the arrival of Da Gama's ships at Calicut, in 1498. But within a few months of his sailors landing there, the Zamorin became contaminated with it through his zenana; and within seventeen years from its first apparition on the Malabar coast, it had spread like wildfire all over India, into the utmost recesses of the Himalayas, where it has ever since remained ensconced in its most envenomed types. Everywhere in India it is still known by the name of *Firinghee rogan*, the "Frankish [specifically "the Portuguese"] pest."[2] It is quite impossible that this

[1] The French themselves at first designated it *mal de Naples;* while the Portuguese, according to Colin [1619], called it *ronge d'Espagne*.

[2] In Kashmir it is named *gurmi-Firanj* ["the Frankish heat"]; in Persia *nar-i-Firangi* ["the Frankish fire"], and also, more honestly, *nar-i-Farsi;* in Arabia *woja-ul-Ifranji;* and in Turkey *Frank zamiti*. It is deeply interesting to note also that "China Root" [obtained from *Smilax China* of China and *S. glabra* and *S. lanceæfolia* of India], the use of which in syphilis was introduced into Southern India, in the sixteenth century, by the Portuguese, from Malacca, where it had been brought to their notice by the Chinese traders at that port as a substitute for "Sarsaparilla" [*S. officinalis* of America], bears among the Telegus the names of *Parangi* ["Frankish"] *chekka*, and *Gali* ["French"] *chekka*, while by the Tamils it is called simply *Parangi* [the "Frankish" remedy]. The Chinese had always known it, as the people of India had always known "Cubebs" [the berries of *Cubeba officinalis* of Java], as an aphrodisiac. "Cubebis in vino maceratis utuntur Indi Orientales ad Venerem excitandem, et Surax Radice Africani. Chinæ Radix eosdem effectus habet." [Garcia's ab Horto in the Aromatum Hist. i. 28 of Clasius.]

contagious disorder could have overrun Europe and Asia with such fatal swiftness, unless its pollution had been communicable by every kind of direct contact. The prevailing libertinism of the time in Europe is insufficient to account for its universal diffusion, from the two initial points of [Cadiz-cum-] Naples and Calicut, within the 25 years from 1493–5 to 1515–21. It spread faster from Calicut than even from Naples ; and it certainly was not helped forward in India by any abnormal exacerbation of immorality among the Hindus and Muslims of the sixteenth century.

As for the imputed contagiousness of leper, there are, in Western India at least, very few households, including the family and its retainers and clients, without a more or less leprous person among their number, and yet never in my memory was an instance noted of leper being communicated by such an one to any of his daily and hourly associates. I was familiar, in the special practice of my friend, the eminent Hindu physician, Dr. Bhau Daji, with many cases of initial leper, but there was never, so far as I remember, any suspicion of their having originated in leprous contagion. I could also name a large Indian city where the clerk-in-charge of the public library, for years daily engaged in circulating newspapers and books to hundreds of readers, was covered all over his hands and arms and face with blotchy leprosy ; but never were any of the subscribers to the library known to have suffered from it. Would this have been possible with the distemper that prematurely throttled the Zamorin of Calicut, and 250 years later hurried Ahmad Shah Durani to his grave under the burden of indescribable bodily and mental tortures ? The irrational dread of leperds felt by the ignorant and selfish patrons of philanthropy in England is indeed very largely superstitious, being an unconscious heritage from the belief still held over all Western and Southern Asia, that these poor hopeless creatures must have been guilty,

in themselves, or through their ancestors, of some heinous offence against the Deity. Thus in Numbers xii. the leprous affection of the inspired " suffragette " Miriam is attributed to " the anger of the Lord," simply on account of her sedition against Moses.

Among all the Semites it was the Sun-God the leperd was supposed to have offended. In India, of the post-Puranic period, it is the Snake-God. This is why every Hindu leperd is a worshipper of the Snake-God. Yet note that one of the ceremonies particularly observed by Indian leperds is every month to entertain a number of young unmarried men and women at dinner. The superstition is thought in India to be supported by certain texts of the " Code of Manu " [iii. 161 and xi. 51], as it is certainly sustained in this country by the severity of the Levitical regulations[1] [Leviticus xiii.] against cutaneous eruptions, or rather the class of cutaneous eruptions, the Hebrew name of which is translated in the English " Authorised Version " of the Bible by the words " leper " [i.e. *lepra*, scaly "] and " leprosy."[2] But although the native Egyptian tradition, according to Manetho, but scouted by Josephus [Antiq., iii., xi. 4], was, that the Hebrews were expelled from the land of Goshen on account of the prevalence among them of true leper, from time immemorial endemic in the Delta of the Nile, it is quite uncertain whether the compilers of the Pentateuch had true leper exclusively in view in the regulations directed against the disease they designate *saraath*. Certainly the " leprosy " [" Lepra Mosaica "] of Moses, Miriam, Naaman, and Gehazi, was not true leper, or it would not have been curable as in

[1] In France, leperds were for centuries treated as religious heretics, and were actually hunted down and burnt at the stake in the fourteenth century. The first edict for their relief was published in 1612, and it was not until 1664 that they were placed under the Order of St. Lazarus.

[2] Lepry is another English form of the word (see Skinner's *Etymologicon*, London, 1671); and yet another " lobhar " [compare " lubber "], although I know it only as the distinguishing epithet of St. Finnian the Lobhar, or Leper.

the first three of them, nor transferable as in the case of the last [Gehazi] of them.

A similar uncertainty exists as to the disease referred to in the "Code of Manu" [iii. 161 and ix. 51] under the name of *svaitrya*, i.e. "whiteness." It clearly does not include "Elephantiasis"[1] [*Lepra tuberculosa*]; and whether the whiteness of skin characterising it was due to true blotchy leper, or to some common cutaneous eruption, cannot now be determined. Herodotus, writing of the ancient Persians, describes two kinds of lepra [i. 139] as prevailing among them, namely, *lepra* and *leuke*. The former was probably some ordinary scaly eruption on the skin, and the latter possibly blotchy leper. The *whiteness* in both forms of the disease, and not its malignancy in the latter form, marked the vengeance of the gods.

In the "Code of Manu," "*white*-[leprosy]" is the punishment for stealing *clothes*, that is *white* cotton cloths; and it was meted out for this offence evidently in accordance with ideas similar to those that suggested the doctrines of "signatures" in ancient and mediæval therapeutics. Thus "lameness" is the punishment, according to the

[1] Elephantiasis is nowhere mentioned in the "Code of Manu." It is true that among the diseases which prevent those afflicted with them participating in the worship of the Lares and Penates, one designated [iii. 165] *slipada*, literally "stone-foot," is enumerated, and that this word has been translated by "elephantiasis"; but it really means "clubfoot," and is so translated by all Sanskritists. The true Sanskrit name for elephantiasis is *hasti-pada*, or *gaga-pada*, literally "elephant's foot," a direct translation of its Arabic name; and this Sanskrit name for leper does not appear in the medical or general literature of the Hindus until after the first century A.D. The Sanskrit word in the *Mahabarata* we translate "leprosy," is *kushtha;* and the presumption that it means true leprosy is so far supported by the fact that the modern Tamil name for blotchy leper, *kustum*, that the Javanese name for both blotchy and nodular leper, *kudig*, and the Malayan names for them, *kudal* and *untal*, are all four corrupted from the Sanskrit word *kushtha*. This word is also the Sanskrit name of the drug Costus, the *white* root of the *Auklandia Costus* [*Saussurea auriculata*] of *Kashmir*, which, in accordance with the popular doctrine of "signatures," is throughout India a famed vernacular remedy for every kind of scaly, scabby, sanious, and ulcerated skin disease.

"Code of Manu," for "horse-stealing," "blindness" for "stealing a lamp," "foul-breath" for "calumniating," "diseased nails" for "stealing gold from a Brahman," "dumbness" for "plagiarism," "dyspepsia" for "stealing cooked food," and "redundant limbs" for the fraudulent "adulteration of grain" down to the five per cent standard of refraction until recently maintained by the London Corn Trade Association !

Again, if persons stricken with "*white*-[leprosy]" are excluded, by the "Code of Manu," from participating in the sacrifices offered to the ancestral manes, so are actors, singers, dancers, gamblers—in short, all "sporting and dramatic" characters,—as also engineers, architects, doctors, and instructors in the Vedas *for a fee.*

"Donum Dei non donatur
Nisi gratis conferatur,
Quod qui vendit vel mercatur,
Lepra Syri vulneretur."

The references in the "Code of Manu" to "*white*-[leprosy]" are less diagnostic, therefore, than even the description of *saraath* in Leviticus xiii., and they in no way uphold the ghostly awe of leper in India, where it is to be directly attributed to the later legends of the mediæval Puranas. The *Bavishya Purana,* a work of very late date, is most instructive on the point. Unfortunately it has never been printed in the original Sanskrit, and I cannot therefore give the Sanskrit name of the disease of eight varieties, assumed by Colebrooke, in a well-known passage of the Digest [iii. 309], to be true leper. These eight varieties are, according to the translation :—1, "blisters on the feet" ; 2, "a deformity of the generative organs," the reference probably being to the Satyriacal form of "elephantiasis" ; 3, "cutaneous fissures" ; 4, "elephantiasis" ; 5, "ulcers" ; 6, "coppery blotches" [*Lepra maculosa*] ; 7, "black leprosy" [? "Lepra Græcorum," i.e. "of the highest degree of scabbedness, or a universal canker of the

whole body" of old writers]; and 8, "white leprosy" [" Lepra Mosaica "]. Of these only 4 and 6 are certainly forms of true leper, and 6 may be "Satyriasis." But the *Bavishya Purana* distinctly states that *the worst of all is the eighth*, "white leprosy," and simply because it is the stigma of the sins of the sufferer or of his ancestors. According to the Puranic ordinances leper excludes not only from the domestic sacrifices, but from the inheritance of property; but distinctly not on account of the disease itself, and only because of the inward invisible offence against the gods whereof it is supposed to be outward and visible sign; for if the sin be repented of, the right to inherit is restored to the leperd, albeit his leper remain—as it must in the case of true leper; whereas, if the sin be unrepented of, although the disease may be cured,—as might happen in the case of one of the non-malignant cutaneous eruptions grouped by classical Arabic and Sanskrit writers under the generic term we translate by "leprosy"—then the bar to inheritance continues to operate, even against the sinner's heirs, and that although they be adopted heirs.

There are, in short, only two indisputable proofs of the identity of the modern forms of leper with the mediæval and antique. The first is Holbein's picture [1516] at Augsburg of St. Elizabeth feeding leperds, who here present exactly such illustrations of the disease as one observes in India in the direfulest examples of it, combining both blotchy and tubercular leper. The second proof is afforded by the Greek and Latin names—*elephantiasis, elephantis,* and *elephas*—given to the tubercular form of leper. We never shall be able to tell what the ancients exactly meant by *lepra*, beyond that it was a foully furfuraceous cutaneous excrustation of some sort or other; nor by *leuke*. But there is no mistaking the meaning of the terms *elephas* and *elephantiasis*, as descriptive of the similitude the soft, elastic human skin assumes,

under the tubercular variety of true leper, to the hard, nodular hide of the pachydermatous elephant. In Abraham Fleming's *Nomenclator*, "imprinted at London for Ralph Newberie and Henrie Denham, 1585," "the leprosie" is defined as "a disease that maketh the skin rough and coloured like an Elephant's skinne, with blacke wannish spots, and dry parched scales and scurfe."[1]

This type of leper, however, was not known in Europe before the first century B.C., and Lucretius is the first to mention it, 50 B.C.; and he distinctly says [vi. 1112-3]:— "There is the Elephant disease, which is generated beside the streams [Delta] of the Nile, in the midst of Egypt, and nowhere else."

> "Est Elephas morbus qui propter flumina Nili
> Gignitur, Ægypto in media, neque preterea usquam."

After him comes Pliny, A.D. 79, who [xxvi. 5] tells us that "Elephantiasis" was unknown in Italy before the time of Ptolemy, and came originally from Egypt; and the contemporary Greek writer Aritæus, who names it

[1] Bartholomew Gilbert de Glanville [Bartholomeus Anglicus], in the eleventh century, describes the symptoms of leper, and prescribes its cure, as follows:—"Universally this evil hath much tokens and signs. In them the flesh is notably corrupt, the shape is changed, the eyen becomes round, the eyelids are revelled, the sight sparkleth, the nostrils are straited and revelled, and shrunk. The voice is hoarse, swelling groweth in the body, and many small blotches and whelks, hard and round, in the legs and in the utter parts; feeling is somedeal taken away. The nails are boystous and bunchy, the fingers shrink and crook, the breath is corrupt, and oft whole men are infected with the stench thereof. . . . Also in the body be diverse specks, now red, now black, now wan, now pale. The tokens of leprosy be most seen in the utter parts, as in the feet, legs, and face; and namely in wasting and minishing the brawns of the body." "To heal or to hide leprosy, best is a red adder with a white womb, if the venom be away, and the tail and head smitten off, and the body sod with leeks,—if it be oft taken and eaten." "De Proprietatibus Rerum," Basle, 1476; as reproduced from the translation of John of Treves, *circa* 1495, by Robert Steele [Alexander Moring, Ltd.: 1903]. If the prescription is not so convincing as the description, we can boast nothing better to this day, for while in modern medical practice diagnosis and prognosis have marvellously advanced, therapeutics serve them but at a reverent distance;—and still the only healer is Death, with the peonies, and the pæan:—"Ὦ θάνατε Παιάν."

both ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαντίασις; also Ἡράκλειον πάθος, this nomenclature referring, I suppose, to the myth of the robe of Nessus; and if so, indicating a belief on the part of Aritæus in the cruel contagiousness of leper. Next the mathematician Firmicus, A.D. 340, describes one afflicted with elephant disease as "elephantiacus" and "elephanticus"; and Isidorus, the grammarian, A.D. 674, names it "elephanticus morbus." It became endemic in Italy during the seventh century A.D., and in Germany and France in the eighth century, and in England in the tenth. It came into Italy through Syria and Asia Proconsularis, and was probably known on the Phœnician coast of Syria as early as in the Delta of the Nile. The terror of the Elephantiasis of Tyre survived in the mediæval phrase "Lepra Syri"; that is, of Sour or Tyre, the Sarranus of Columella [ix. 4, 4 and x. 287] and Virgil [Geo., ii. 506], and Sarra of Plautus [Truc., ii. 2]. In any case, just as we find that in India and in Norway leper in both its kinds is apparently propagated by eating half-putrid salted fish, so we learn that the Syrians objected to an exclusive fish diet, as causing swellings and ulcerations of the limbs, and propitiated their goddess Atargatis [Der-*ceto*], a form of Aphrodite, by offerings of representations of fishes in metal. Thus Ovid [Fasti, ii. 473] sings:—

> "Hence, Syrians hate to eat that kind of fishes;
> Nor is it fit to make their gods their dishes."

> "Inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis
> Nec violant timidi piscibus ora Syri."

Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, published in the reign of James I, attributes leper to "the disorderly eating of sea fish *newly taken*, and principally the liver of them, not well prepared, soused, pickled, or condited."

It is this "elephant disease" which is the scourge of India; and, probably, it was during the great growth of ancient commerce, from the sixth century B.C. to the

sixth century A.D., that the agonising malady was gradually introduced among the littoral nations of the Indian peninsula, and along the shores of the Indian Ocean generally, from its original habitat in the Delta of the Nile, and the narrow Phœnician coast shut in between the Mediterranean Sea and the Lebanon mountains; in the same manner as it was almost synchronously disseminated from Egypt and Syria into Greece and Italy.

In India it prevails chiefly among the Hindus, and affects the males among them in far larger proportion than the females. All the cases of Hindus that came under my observation in Dr. Bhau Daji's practice were from the estuaries of rivers, as is so much the case with cancer in this country, and they were invariably associated with a diet largely made up of pickles of all kinds and candied preserves.

The disease, to all outward seeming, considerably increased after the British occupation of the country, and that notwithstanding the improved sanitary conditions introduced under our administration. But this was probably merely a sort of ocular delusion, resulting from our interference with the orthodox native method of dealing with the visitation, so soon as its true character is manifested, and there is no longer any hope of its yielding to medicinal or sacramental treatment. The divine curse on a family that elephantiasis is believed by the Hindus to betoken can be removed only by the immolation, or the suffocation in some sacred stream or tank, of its victim, or by burying him in a newly-dug grave. But under British rule this is either suicide or murder, and cannot possibly be done on any enlarged and properly prophylactic scale.

Some years ago in the Punjab, as Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff has related, the father of a family, having been laid low with leper, was for some time most carefully nursed by his two sons, the only surviving members of

his household. Nothing could exceed the tenderness and self-denial of their care of him ; but as the disease advanced and became hopeless he insisted on being taken to be drowned in the neighbouring river. So, after much resistance, the dutiful youths at last consented to do their father's bidding, and bore him away to the purifying stream, and laid him beside it, and reverently and affectionately held him down in it until he was dead. They were at once put upon their trial for murder, and convicted and condemned to be hanged. Fortunately the sentence came under the review of the late Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I. (afterward Lord Lytton's Foreign Secretary), who rightly understood the people and their conduct, and, by a merciful perversion of the English law on the matter, determined their crime to be one of abetting suicide, and not murder, and thus got the young men off with a nominal punishment. In another case, mentioned to me by Mr. Thornton himself, the father of a family, finding that he was irremediably leprous, built up his own funeral-pyre, and calling his household together, read to them from its summit the *Shastra* commanding him to expiate the curse that through his sins had been brought upon them, and then set fire to the pile, and perished in the flames. The living burial of leperds was at one time, Mr. Thornton tells me, widely practised in the Punjab. But this high stoical fashion of dealing with the outcasts of a cruel disease, and yet more cruel superstition, we abolished ; and with the natural consequence that leperds greatly increased in apparent numbers, until now they are to be seen everywhere in India.[1]

'This is not becoming in any circumstances, and might

[1] I note with satisfaction that Mr. Gait's Census Report, 1911, records a fall in numbers since 1891 from 126,000 to 109,000, and he attributes the decrease partly to the improvement of material conditions among the lower castes, and partly to the greater efforts made in recent years to house lepers in asylums. Mr. Gait says the omissions from the returns due to concealment are no doubt very considerable. " It would be rash to assert that the real number of lepers does not exceed by 40 or 50 per cent that shown in Table XII."

with certain conditions prove a source of considerable danger ; for although in its ordinary endemic phase leper is not actively contagious, there is no saying, now that it has become so widely distributed in India, whether at any moment it might not pass into an epidemic phase, as when Europe was decimated by it in the Middle Ages. Then it came in with the Crusaders returning from the Holy Land, just as it had previously come into Italy with the soldiers of Pompey returning from Syria and Asia Minor ; and now once more it seems to be finding its way westward in the wake of our English Eastern commerce ; especially since a direct passage for the trade of the Indian Ocean was opened into the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal. An unavoidable and heavy, if not pressing, responsibility is, therefore, laid upon the Government of India to take the necessary simple, and highly efficacious measures, dictated as well by modern science as by the experience of this and other European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for its suppression. The many questions of scientific interest to be investigated in connection with it may never receive a completely satisfactory solution ; but the practical points are that leper can be extirpated by the segregated isolation of the leprous, and can be prevented from reappearing spontaneously in a country whence it has once been extirpated, by the amelioration of the sanitary conditions of its inhabitants, particularly as affecting their food.

This is sufficiently proved by the whole history of leper in modern Europe. It was by these means that the plague was stayed in England, where at one time a Lazar House [Lazaretto] existed in most of our larger towns. Here, in London, one was built by William Pole, yeoman to Edward IV, on the site of the present Smallpox Hospital in Whittington Place,[1] Salisbury Road, at the

[1] Removed from King's Cross in 1860, to make room for the Great Northern Railway Terminus.

foot of Highgate Hill, as you proceed northward out of Holloway. It was dedicated to St. Anthony, but was always known as " the Lazar House at Holloway." Early in the fifteenth century another was established at Kingsland, near the south-eastern corner of the road leading to Ball's Pond, where the turnpike gate was afterwards put up. It was called " Le Lokes," that is " the Enclosed," " the Guarded," " the Locked," a name still borne by " the Lock Hospital " at Paddington. After the Reformation it was annexed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. There used to be " a Loke for lepers " also in Kent Street, in the Borough, and one was formerly attached to Trinity Chapel, Knightsbridge ; and another stood on the north side of the diminutive " Green " in front of Tattersall's.

Earlier than any of these was the ancient hospital for " maiden lepers," now represented by St. James's Palace ; and the hospital in the parish of St. Giles's, founded in 1118 by Queen Matilda, as " a Cell " to the larger institution at Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire. St. James's, St. Giles's, and Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire, were the three oldest houses for leperds in England. The Lizard Point in Cornwall and Lezardieux[1] in Brittany are both said to take their names from the leper-houses, dedicated to St. Lazarus, that once stood in these isolated spots. Altogether over a hundred hospitals once existed in England for the segregation of leperds ; and by the writ of " Leproso amovendo " the authorities of a parish could at any time be compelled to remove leprous persons to the nearest of them. By pursuing this treatment leper began at last, in the fifteenth century, to decline all over Europe, and

[1] Compare the French word *ladrerie* for leper or leprosy, formed from the name of St. Lazarus, the patron saint of leperds, who still is called St. Ladre over all the north of France. " Lazar " for leper is formed, through the French *lazare,* Latin *Lazarus,* Greek *Λάζαρος,* from the Hebrew *Eleazar,* i.e. *El-azar,* " God-helped." " Lazzaroni," formed from the Italian *lazzarino,* a " leper," is the descriptive term applied by the Spanish viceroys to the rabble of Naples.

it was practically extinguished by the eighteenth century, although it was not until 1741 that the last leperd died in Scotland in the Shetlands,[1] while the last recorded case in Ireland occurred at Waterford so late as 1775.

The gradual introduction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the use of fresh instead of potted meats in winter, and of pot-herbs and salads as articles of daily diet during the summer months of the year, as also the substitution of constant changes of clean linen and cotton [Indian " Calicuts " or calicoes] underclothing for flannel—worn until it fell from the body in filthy rags—further contributed to the extinction of leper from Europe. The history of the disease in Norway during the last 40 years has been to the same general effect.

But if the attempt to drive leper out of India is to be entirely successful, it will probably be found necessary to aim simultaneously at the expulsion also of syphilis. Without ever being able to demonstrate it, Dr. Bhau Daji always suspected the existence of some obscure connection between them. Of course, when whole populations are saturated with syphilis, as is the case in many parts of Western and Southern India, there is a general lowering of their vitality that of itself intensifies the vitiated conditions favourable, where the constitutional predisposition already exists, to the development of leprosy. But this is not what Dr. Bhau Daji had in view. He was possessed by the idea of a far closer relation between the two diseases, and seemed to consider that where there was a tendency to leper, its actual manifestation, particularly in instances of unusual and otherwise unaccountable aggravation, was often due to the stimulus communicated to the system by the introduction into it of the specific virus of syphilis. In the Himalayan valleys the two diseases are certainly

[1] Dr. Edmonston is said to have met with a dubious case in Edinburgh in 1809. The noblest of Scotch victims to leprosy was, of course, Robert the Bruce.

very remarkably associated, if in no ways interdependent, in their baneful activity. It is further noteworthy that they are not distinguished from each other by the natives of Ceylon, and are indiscriminately named by them *Parangi*, here emphatically " the Portuguese " pest. " Post voluptatem misericordia " was the superscription borne on one of the old London Lazar-houses. Possibly it merely reflected, in proverbial phrase, the old religious prejudice against lepers as sinners above all men; but it does also seem to indicate a popularly recognised sequence of cause and effect between a sensual life and leper, and it undoubtedly suggests that the disorder may, from the earliest times, in its more serious forms, have had at least one of its origins in some independently developed Old World contaminations cognate with the syphilis of America.

I am not entitled to express an opinion of my own on a medical question of this sort, my self-gained knowledge of leper having regard only to the history of its geographical propagation, gained in independently following the lines of inquiries indicated by the late Sir James Y. Simpson [*Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. lv.], and that chiefly on account of the indirect light it throws on the history of the decorative arts of India. But I naturally took a keen professional interest also in Dr. Bhau Daji's speculations on the point, and the tentative hypothesis I early formulated with reference to it was that syphilis, and, aboriginally, leper, were respectively active American and passive Ethiopian types of a protean disease that tends to generate itself wherever bodily cleanliness, particularly in respect of the things dealt with in Leviticus xv. and similar passages of the "Code of Manu," and the *Shayast La-shayast* of the Parsis, is habitually neglected.[1]

This is obviously a very difficult question : but nevertheless it demands deliberate and circumstantial con-

[1] Compare Ovid, A. A., ii., 329–30 : also Homer, Odyssey, xxii., 481–2, and 493.

sideration. Leper can certainly be stamped out, and syphilis itself is beginning to show unmistakable signs of obsolescence, and that not merely in consequence of the improved sanitary conditions of the world, but from the gradual exhaustion of its inherent hurtfulness. If then for no other reason than this, that " a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together " would probably within two generations make a lasting end of syphilis, and, apart altogether from any hypothesis of its possible alligation with local forms of leper, it would appear most desirable to combine with the efforts directed against the latter, a regularly organised endeavour for the complete extinction of the former obscene disease within, at least, the limits of British India. It was inflicted on India by the first nation[1] of modern Europe adventuring into the pagan East ; and if, as may reasonably be suspected, its presence there serves to intensify the vernacular leper, it has indeed been twice accursed to the country, where, so long as it is allowed to prevail, it will remain the shamefulest of stigmas on the civilisation of the Christian West. There can be no true expiation of the sin of it but by thoroughly purging the land, from Kashmir to Ceylon, and from Bab-el Mandeb to Malacca, of the duplex pollution of it. I feel strongly, therefore, that if we are to succeed in the benevolent movement for the alleviation of leper in India, we must, and all the more unhesitatingly in view of the humiliating history of syphilis in that country, combine the religious obligations of penitence and reparation with the burden and the glory of a great imperial and international work of duty and mercy.[2]

[1] The very country that India led, with the export of her " Calicuts," in the redemption of the West from leper !

[2] The native Christians of St. Thomé [Maliapur], near Madras, regard the local leperds as descendants of the murderers of St. Thomas. It is a matter for profound thankfulness that the subject of venereal diseases is occupying the attention of a Royal Commission, presided over by a statesman of pre-eminent ability, the Lord Sydenham, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., F.R.S., etc., late Governor of Bombay.

THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES IN THE HISTORY OF ART[1]

> "What wonder we that men should die ? The statelie
> tombs do weare ;
> The verie stones consume to nought, with titles they
> bid beare."—RICHARD KNOLLES,
> *The Generall Historie of the Turkes,* 1604.[2]

ALTHOUGH the Hittites are known to us as a political power only through the contemporary chronicles of the campaigns undertaken against them by the kings of Egypt and Assyria, they occupy an independent position of exceptional importance in connection with the development of the archaic civilisation of Asia and Europe. They were not merely the originators of the ideograms from which the syllabaries of Cyprus and Cilicia, and Mysia, and the non-Hellenic letters of the alphabets of Cappadocia, Lycia, and Caria were derived, but, if we may rely on the evidence of the Syrian and Anatolian sculptures ascribed to them, they were also the actual propagandists, in the course of their conquests and commerce, of the mythology, worship, manners and customs, and characteristic illustrative arts, that, as influenced in their inception by the ubiquitous presence of Egypt, they received directly from Mesopotamia. These were in turn transmitted, with gradual and continuous local qualification, eastward into Media and Central Asia, and westward through Lydia and Ionia, to the islands and mainland of Greece ; appearing

[1] Originally contributed to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review,* Jan., 1888.—ED.

[2] Quoted in *From Pharaoh to Fellah* (1888)—the best work on modern Egypt known to me—by the late Charles F. Moberly Bell, 1847–1911, the eminent Manager of *The Times,* in succession to J. Cameron MacDonald, 1890–1911.

there concurrently with the elements of Pharaonic culture directly imported from the delta of the Nile by the Phœnicians.

The Hittites were, in short, the immediate inheritors, long anterior to the subjugation of Babylonia by Assyria, of the civilisation of the Chaldæan kingdom of "Father Orchamus," and Sargon [I], and Hammurabi; and the first to disseminate it from "the river of Egypt" to the Black Sea, and from the Caspian Sea to the river Halys, and onward to the Mediterranean Sea, over all Syria and Asia Minor: it being assumed that the Hittites [*ha-Khitti*, and *Khittim*, and *bene-Khetha*] of the Old Testament are one and the same people with the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments, and the *Khatti* of the Assyrian inscriptions.

The *Kheta* of the wall paintings of the Ramesseum at Karnak, and on the great temple of Abu-Sumbel, are certainly none other than the proto-Armenian defenders of Van figured on the bronze gates (now in the British Museum) of the palace of Shalmaneser II, at Balawat, who are the *Khatti* of the cuneiform inscriptions; and both are indistinguishable in their features, costumes, and military equipment, from the people autoglyphically portrayed on the sculptures attributed by Professor Sayce and Dr. W. Wright to the Hittites. Further, as the definition of "all the land of the Hittites" in Joshua i. 4 exactly limits the country of the *Kheta* as known to the Egyptians, and the country of the *Khatti* as known to the Assyrians, it is unreasonable any longer to question the absolute identity of the *Kheta*, *Khatti*, and *Khittim* or Hittites.

The prolonged resistance they opposed to the ever-victorious armies of Egypt and Assyria proves the amplitude and solidity of the natural resources of their still shadowy empire, while their sculptures, situated in so many far-separated regions, show how wide was its extent.

They would appear to have been essentially a Turanian people, who perhaps gradually became partially Semiticised,

and even in some degree Aryanised. They were originally a Northern people, as their shoes, with the toes turned up, indicate ; but it was on the south side of the Caucasus mountains, before Media and Armenia were occupied by their later Aryan inhabitants, that they developed their distinctive nationality, and from Cappadocia enlarged their empire southward, across Mount Taurus, to Egypt, and westward to the shores of the Propontic and Ægean seas. They are the people whom the Greeks called "Leuco-Syrians," to distinguish them from the darker Semitic populations south of Mount Taurus ; and again they are identified by Mr. Gladstone with the Ceteans of the eleventh book of the Odyssey :—

> "And round him [Eurypylus] led his bold
> Cetean train" ;—

who although classed with the Leleges and Caucones as forgotten if not fabulous races of the Homeric world, were in all probability a tribe of Hittites that had given their name to the river Cetius [*Bergama-Chai*] in Mysia. We have probably a trace of them also in the name of the town of Citium [Niagusta] in Thrace, for in 1 Maccabees i. 1, Macedonia is designated as the land of Chettim, and the Macedonians as Citims [viii. 5]. Citium [Larnaka] in Cyprus was undoubtedly a city of the Phœnicians, who from it expanded the denomination of Chittim to the whole island of Cyprus, and to all the islands collectively of the Ægean Sea. Hence it is applied in the Old Testament [Genesis x. 4 and 1 Chronicles i. 7] to the third son of Javan, as the eponym of the Aryan tribes [Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians] who succeeded the Phœnicians in the colonisation and commerce of the Grecian Archipelago. But the Phœnicians, who formed a geographical link between the Aryan [Japhetic] Greeks, the descendants of Kittim, the third son of Javan, and the Semiticised Turanian *Khittim* or Hittites, the descendants of Heth, the second son of Canaan, if they were not ethnologically connected, through

their Canaanitish predecessors in Phœnicia, the Sidonians, with the Hittites, must at least have appropriated the appellation of Chittim from the latter. Wherever the name occurs, and under whatever disguises, we are justified in assuming, in the absence of sufficient arguments to the contrary, that it refers ultimately to the formidable Hittites, who between the twenty-fourth and eighth centuries B.C. established their military domination over all Asia Minor from Syria to Lydia and Ionia.[1]

It was in the seventeenth century B.C. that Thothmes I began " the war of revenge " against the *Kheta;* thenceforth carried on by successive Pharaohs for nearly five hundred years. Thothmes III defeated them before Megiddo [Armageddon of New Testament], and at Kadesh on the Orontes, and Carchemish on the Euphrates ; and twice stormed the last-named city and reduced it to ashes. The sanguinary struggle was continued by the immediately following Pharaohs, but with such indecisive results that, about one hundred and fifty years after the death of Thothmes III, a treaty was concluded between his successor, Ramses I, and the king of the *Kheta*, securing, for a time, peace between Syria and Egypt. When, however, Seti I came to the throne of Thebes, *circa* 1366 B.C., finding that the *Kheta* and their allies had recommenced their incursions into territories of Egypt, he at once attacked them, defeating them at " Kanaan," near the Dead Sea, and again at " Jamnia " in Phœnicia, where he overthrew with great slaughter " the king of the land of Phœnicia," and then marched against Kadesh,

[1] I presume that it can never refer to the "Chatti," an ancient population of N.W. Italy, or to the "Chattuarii" of the N.E. of Germany, or the "Chatramotitæ" of the Hadramaut of S. Arabia : but one may be permitted to suggest a suspicion of it in the designation of the *Kshátriyas* [this Sanskrit, or Sanskritised, word having the meaning of "Rulers," "Governours," etc.], a people, named Chatriæi, being located in the modern maps of ancient Asia between Ariana and Surastrene [Surashtra, i.e. "the Good-land"] including Kathiawara [the "Ward of the Kathis"], and Rajputana.

expressly as "the avenger of broken treaties," and captured the city by surprise.

His son, Ramses II, who adorned the temples at Karnak, Abu-Sumbel, Abydos, and Luxor with the pictorial records of his father's and his own achievements, prosecuted his campaigns against the *Kheta* with such success, that at last "the great king of the *Kheta*" was compelled to submit himself; and a peace was settled between them that lasted sixty years; a circumstance probably due to the happy marriage of the Egyptian victor with the beautiful daughter of the vanquished *Kheta* king. More than two hundred years later, the *Kheta* are found among the federated invaders from Anterior Asia and Northern Africa, who were defeated by Ramses III in the great naval engagement at Migdol, the "Watch-city" at the Pelusaic mouth of the Nile; and thenceforward their dreaded name disappears from this history of Egypt.

In the inscribed tablets from the library of Assurbanipal [Sardanapalus], copied by that king from the original tablets of the library founded by Sargon [I] at Agane, the *Khatti* are mentioned as continually assailing the kingdom of Chaldæa during the reign of the latter sovereign. He was able to drive them for a time beyond Mount Amanus; but no sooner did the Elamites begin to ravage Chaldæa, than the *Khatti* at once re-established themselves on the Orontes and Euphrates. Again, although the Egyptians frequently forced them to withdraw into Cappadocia, the cradle of their empire, on the decline of the Theban monarchy, after the death of Ramses III, they promptly reasserted their dominion over Syria, and sustained it with the greatest vigour, until their final overthrow by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. They were indeed, with short periods of depression, the paramount power in Syria and in Asia Minor, from about the twentieth to the twelfth century B.C.

From the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I [1120–1100

B.C.] found at Kalah Shergat [Asshur], the oldest original Assyrian text that has hitherto been discovered, we learn that immediately on his coming to the throne he began to beat back the *Khatti* from the western borders of his kingdom ; and that after a series of expeditions against them, he succeeded at last in temporarily freeing his frontiers from them. Assur-nazir-pal [885–860 B.C.] carried the arms of Assyria as far as the "Lebanon" and "the great sea of the Phœnicians," and exacted tribute from Carchemish and Gaza, "and other towns of the *Khatti*," and from Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad. His son, Shalmaneser II [860–825 B.C.], according to the inscription on "the Black Obelisk," led several punitive campaigns against the *Khatti*, and captured Carchemish. One hundred years later we find them still in deadly conflict with the Assyrians. But at last the empire of the *Khatti* was brought to an end by Sargon [II], who in 717 B.C. fell suddenly upon Carchemish with an overwhelming force, and plundered it, and levelled it to the ground ; and in subsequent campaigns brought the whole country of the *Khatti* to the Phœnician coast, and, north of Mount Taurus, to the Halys, under his sway. Henceforth the Hittites were known in Syria only as isolated tribes ; while in Asia Minor their very name appears to have at once died out of the memories of the nations inheriting their institutions, and arts and industries, and their indefinite fame.

Their remains consist almost exclusively of inscriptions and sculptures distributed over the whole of north-western Anterior Asia. In Syria inscriptions have been found near Damascus, and at Hamah [Hamath], and at Aleppo. Several inscriptions, now in the British Museum, were found by the late Mr. George Smith at Jerabis or Jerablus [Carchemish], one of them being graven on the back of the mutilated bas-relief figure of a man. The so-called "Monolith of a King," now in the British Museum, was discovered by the Rev. George Percy Badger, built into

the wall of the Turkish Castle at *Birejik*, on the Euphrates. In the mountains dividing the plain of "Hollow Syria" from the uplands of Asia Minor, are the sculptures representing a hunting scene, chiselled with great spirit, on the rocks of the *Bagtche*-pass through the *Ghiaour-Dag* [Mount Amanus]; the inscription on the Assyrian lion[1] on the Turkish Castle at Marash, at the southern foot of the *Bulghar-Dag* [Mount Taurus]; and the inscription in a curious gorge near *Ghurun*, at the northern foot of the *Bulghar-Dag*.

We are now among the elevated pasture-lands and vineyards and wheat-fields of Asia Minor; and it is here in the Turkish provinces representing the ancient Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia, and Lydia, that the Hittite monuments of the greatest interest exist. Just within the limits of the Turkish province of Koniyeh [Lycaonia] and north of the *Kulek-Boghaz*, or "Ciliciæ Pylæ," at *Ibreez*, near *Eregli*, the ancient Heraclea, are the remarkable sculptures representing a man, clad in the usual Hittite costume, worshipping the local god of corn and wine. The long robe wrapped round the former is richly broidered and fringed, and diapered all over with the simple but effective geometrical designs still to be seen in the domestic fabrics woven by the hardy peasantry of Koniyeh, Roum, and Armenia, and throughout Central Asia. The robe is worn very much in the Hindu fashion of Western India; and the whole figure of the man, with his weighty necklace, "tip-tilted Hittite boots," and twisted head-gear, strongly resembles that of some wealthy merchant of Guzerat in the attitude of devotion before an exalted image of the Lord Preserver, Vishnu. There is an inscription at *Bor*, between *Eregli* and *Nigdeh*, and another at *Kilesseh-Hissar* [Tyana], not far from *Bor*, and at *Iflatun-Bunias*, near to the *Beishehr* lake, in the

[1] It is now, I believe, with the Hamah stones, in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

southern corner of Koniyeh ; and there are traces of Hittite art on two small slabs found at Kaissariyeh [Cæsareia, more anciently Mazaca], in Central Koniyeh [Cappadocia], but known to have been originally brought from Amasia, in Roum.

At *Boghaz-Keui* [Pteria] in north-western Roum [Galatian Cappadocia], the reputed site of the Hittite capital of Asia Minor, are the dilapidated remains of a building, arranged on the same ground plan as the palaces of Chaldæa and Assyria, but raised on a terrace of Cyclopean masonry, instead of on a mound of burnt-clay bricks ; and near it are the ruins of a temple, sculptured within with the figures of the Hittite gods, advancing in procession, from the right hand and the left, until they meet face to face in the centre of the side of the open rock-cut court opposite the entrance. All the gods stand, after the manner of the gods of the Hindus, on their symbolical vehicles [*vahans*] ; the right-hand procession being headed by Rhea-Cybele [Nana-Ishtar, Ma], borne on a lion, and wearing her turreted diadem ; and the left by the beloved Attys [Bel, Baal, Papas, Tammuz, Adonis]. Two smaller figures behind the great goddess are represented standing on the Hittite " double-headed " " spread-eagle."

At *Eyuk*, a little to the north of *Boghaz-Keui*, there is another Hittite palace with Sphinxes, of the standing and affronted Assyrian type, carved on one of the gateways. Outside this gateway there are reliefs portraying a number of persons worshipping before an altar, and also a snake-charmer playing on a guitar [*vina* of Hindus] to the serpent coiled round his body, while another man stands beside him holding a long-tailed monkey by the hand—a group thoroughly Indian in its composition and physiognomy and movement. Several other animals are also represented, the fanciful double-headed eagle again being prominent among them. This device reappears also among the golden ornaments found by Schliemann at Mycenæ ; and then is lost sight of in Asia Minor for nearly two thousand years,

when it was revived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. on the coins of the Seljuk Turks ; and was introduced by the Counts of Flanders into Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Professor Sayce believes it to have been originally a form of the conventional winged thunderbolt of Bel Merodach. Its plastic prototype was the " spread eagle " borne as a military standard and symbol of victory, by the conquering hero of the reliefs on the funeral stele of white stone found by M. de Sarzec at *Tel-Ho* in Chaldæa.

At *Ghiaour-Kalessi*, near the villages of *Kara-Omerlu* and *Hoiadja*, nine hours south-west of Angora, the ancient Ancyra, in Eastern Anatolia [Galatian Phrygia], are two colossal figures of Hittite warriors, hewn in the face of the mountain rock, supporting the walls of a Cyclopean fortress, erected by the Hittites on this site for the transparent purpose of commanding the ancient high road between Pteria and Sardis. They are the counterpart of the two colossal figures of warriors cut on the rocks overhanging the ancient road between Phocœa and Smyrna, and Ephesus, where, after doubling the eastern shoulder of Mount Sipylus, it is joined near the village of *Karabel* by the road from Sardis. These latter figures have been supposed, from the time of Herodotus, to represent the renowned legendary Sesostris [Seti I and his son Ramses II] ; but Professor Sayce has been able to demonstrate, from the inscription still legible on one of the figures, that they are the work of the Hittites. The famous seated figure, carved in full relief out of the living rock, on the northern slope of Mount Sipylus, 4 or 5 miles from the ancient Magnesia, and alluded to by Homer [Iliad, xxiv. 602–20], and Sophocles [Antigone, 816–22], and described by Pausanias [Attica, xxi. 5] as " the weeping Niobe," has also been shown by Sayce to be a Hittite statue of Rhea-Cybele, to the worship of whom, as " Mater Sipylina," the city of Smyrna was devoted.

A duplicate of this profoundly interesting statue has been discovered by Sir William Mitchell Ramsay at *Sidi-Gazi* [Nacolea], between *Rutaya* [Cotyæum] and *Bala-Hisar* [Pessinus], in the very heart of Anatolia [Phrygia], in the immediate vicinity of Pessinus, and among the defiles of Mount Dindymum, and may be identified with Rhea-Cybele as Dindymene and "Mater Pessinuntia."

In the neighbourhood of the latter statue, close to the modern village of *Ayazeen*, Murray found a rock-cut tomb, flanked at its entrance by two rampant lions, affronted before a phallic pillar[1] rising up between them from the top of the doorway on which their forepaws rest. The sepulchre proved to be the earliest of eight, decorated with the same symbolic subject, and all belonging to an age subsequent to that of the acknowledged Hittite sculptures, but anterior to that of the similar lion group, "the device of the Pelopidæ," above the gate of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, now proved by Ramsay's discovery to have been introduced into Greece from Phrygia. Close to *Sidi-Gazi* and *Doghanlu*, at the village of *Yazil-Kia*, i.e. "the Writing on the Rock," is the so-called "Tomb of Midas"; the type of several similar caverned sepulchres, with façades carved all over with simple geometrical patterns identical with those used in the ornamentation of modern Turkman carpets; and obviously intended to represent curtains, similar to those hung before their tents at the present day by the Turanian nomads of Asia Minor, Persia, and Central Asia. These tombs are thought to be the latest examples of Phrygian art, as those at *Ayazeen* are supposed to be the earliest.

The Hittites were apparently still at the height of their power when, in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., Asia Minor was overrun by recurrent hordes of Thracian Aryas [Pelasgian Bryges], and this protracted assault on the

[1] I believe that these pillars must have supported a solar disc like the Buddhistic "wheel."

centre of their empire no doubt served to render their destruction final on the capture of Carchemish by Sargon [II]. But this renewed Aryan invasion of Asia Minor would seem to have given a great impetus to the development of the Phrygian, or, as it might be styled, Aryanised Hittite kingdom that was now established on the Sangarius, and which continued, in succession to the Hittite kingdom on the Halys, to dominate all the countries between the Euxine and the Mediterranean Seas, until it succumbed to the attacks of the mixed Aryan and Turanian barbarians, known in history as the Cimmerians, by whom Asia Minor was invaded in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.; when Phrygia, on the death of its last king Midas, became absorbed in the Mæonian kingdom of Lydia. This in its turn ruled over Asia Minor, until Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, and the last of the great dynasts of the Mermnadæ, was subjugated by Cyrus, 554 B.C. It is to the comparatively late period of the Mermnadæ [724–554 B.C.] that "the Tomb of Midas," and the other Phrygian tombs at *Doghanlu* probably belong. But if the sculptures at *Boghaz-Keui*, *Eyuk*, *Ghiaour-Kalessi*, *Karabel*, and *Sidi-Gazi* are the latest that can be classed as their actual handiwork, the indirect influence of the Hittites as the first civilisers of Asia Minor is still to be traced in the so-called "Grave of Tantalus" on Mount Sipylus, and the so-called "Monument of Alyattes" at Sardis; the former one of twelve, and the latter of a hundred graves of similar character, all probably belonging to the age of Crœsus, and copied apparently from the heroic tumuli of the Troad, known as the "Tomb of Achilles," the "Tomb of Priam," etc., all identical in form and structure with the numerous Hittite burial mounds of the plain of "Hollow Syria," between the Orontes and the Euphrates.

Beside the monuments above enumerated, several other minor objects of Hittite art have been discovered, such as

the stele, and a stone bowl with a Hittite inscription round its outer surface, both found at Babylon; the circular seal of black hematite, now in the British Museum, found at *Yuzgat*, near *Boghaz-Keui;* the cubical seal of hematite, belonging to Mr. Greville Chester, found near Tarsus; the eight seals found by Layard in the "Record Room" of the palace of Sennacherrib at *Koyunjik* [Nineveh]; the eighteen seals, belonging to Mr. Schulemberg, "found in Asia Minor"; and lastly, the silver boss, offered in sale about 30 years ago to the British Museum and elsewhere, but refused in the belief that it was a forgery, and since disapparent. Fortunately, an electrotype of it was, despite the VIIIth and Xth Commandments, taken at the British Museum, and a cast by Lenormant; and these have enabled Professor Sayce to determine that the inscription on the boss was what is called bilingual, or written in two characters, cuneiform and Hittite, and read: Tarik-timme [compare with Tarkondemos of Plutarch], King of the country of Erme [compare with Urume of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Peleser I]. It is the only Hittite bilingual inscription yet [1888] brought to light, but, unhappily, it is too short to be of any great practical use of itself, and the longer Hittite inscriptions consequently still [1888] remain undeciphered.[1]

But, notwithstanding that we have not yet succeeded in expounding all the dark secrets of the Hittite inscriptions, they, and the sculptures illustrating so many of them, reveal to us a uniform system of ideographic writing, and a self-consistent style of art, founded indeed on that of Chaldæa, and not uninfluenced by that of Egypt, but stamped with its own strongly-impressed ethnical and local characteristics, and visibly pointing to a homogeneous and universal, if invisible empire in Hollow Syria and

[1] Time would fail me to tell, in any detail, of the discoveries of explorers since this article appeared in its original form, such as Mr. J. Garstang, Professor D. G. Hogarth, and others.

Asia Minor that can be none other than that of the *Kheta*, *Khatti*, or Hittites. Their inscrutable inscriptions, and their unambiguous and peculiar sculptures, exhibiting such strange religious symbols as "the mural crown," and "the double-headed eagle," everywhere in association with the same decorative patterns—the chevron, meander, square, cross [*swastika*], and anthemion [lotus]; and with the same fashion of dress and military armament—"the tip-tilted boot," "the high-peaked turban," the short, high-girded sword, the long spear, and round shield, and bow and arrow;—all these tangible, singular, and significant vestiges of an extinct, "indigenous" civilisation at once indeed testify to the reality of "the Empire of the Hittites," and to the all-important part played by it in the development of the primitive, and, as regards Europe, the prehistoric culture of the Old World.

The broad conclusion of this epigraphical and general historical survey is that until the eighth century B.C. the Hittites were the most powerful people in Syria and Asia Minor, and the main intermediaries through whom the arts of Chaldæa and Babylonia were transmitted to the shores of the Euxine, Propontic, and Ægean seas; and after the annihilation of the Hittite nationality by Sargon [II], although the modified Babylonian arts of Assyria, chiefly exported from Mesopotamia by sea, and in the course of the coasting trade between Phœnicia and Hellas, served to exert a specific influence on the proto-Ionic art of Lycia, Caria, Lydia, and Mysia, they continued also to find their way westward by the immemorial overland routes through Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Lydia; so that it is almost impossible to set bounds, either in geographical area, or in historic time, to the influence of the Hittites on the arts of the Old World.

The art of Greece, in its earlier prehistoric examples, antecedent to the twelfth century B.C., was exclusively

derived from Chaldæa and Babylonia, through the Hittites; and in its later prehistoric period, between the twelfth and eighth centuries, although Greece was at this time in communication, through the Phœnicians, with both Egypt and Mesopotamia, it continued to be predominantly influenced, through the intervention of the Hittites, by that of Mesopotamia, then centred in Assyria. Even after the disappearance of the Hittites, the authority of Assyria was exercised over Greek art all through its archaic period, from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C., not so much in the course of the commercial navigation of the seafaring Phœnicians, as along the Hittite military road from Carchemish to Sardis, and Smyrna, Ephesus, and Miletus; for it was by this overland route across Asia Minor that the proto-Ionic column, and all the arts correlated with the Ionic order, were carried from Assyria into Greece. When, moreover, the Ionian States were, for a while, during the rise of the Lydian Kingdom under the Mermnadæ, cut off from direct communication with the interior of Asia Minor, the immemorial intercourse between Greece and Mesopotamia was, notwithstanding this temporary obstruction, maintained by way of Sinope, and the other Milesian colonies, founded in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. on the Asiatic shores of the Euxine Sea.

During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., Hellenic art completely emancipated itself from foreign exemplars, and then, in the suite of "striding Alexander" and his successors, and of the "full-fortuned Cæsars," it began to react on Asia Minor, and Egypt, and Syria, and Mesopotamia; the Hellenisation of these effete Semitic and Semiticised nations going on uninterruptedly to the commencement of the attacks of the Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, and, after them, of the Arabs, and Turks, and Mongols, on the western and eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. This refluent revivification of Asia by Europe was naturally

first and most felicitously felt in the primeval Hittite lands opposite Hellas, the coasts of which had been colonised from the eleventh century B.C. by the Æolian and the Ionian Greeks; and it was in Ionia (where, as also in Lycia, there had been something like an independent growth of Hellenic art, parallel with its development in Crete, Argos, Sicyon, Ægina, and Athens) that some of its noblest fruits were matured, on, as it were, its true native soil, and from roots originally transplanted from Mesopotamia by the Hittites.

We have thus preserved to us in Asia Minor illustrations of the art of Greece at every stage of its evolution; from the rough-hewn bas-reliefs of alien workmanship that, when as yet it was not, were the earliest models of its lowly imitative beginnings, to the masterpieces of free and spontaneous expression in architecture and statuary, that bear still living witness to its unapproachable perfection in the age of Pericles; and also the debased and grandiose monuments of its gradual decline and degradation during its servitude to Imperial Rome.

First, there are the vestiges, extending over the sixteen centuries from 2400 B.C. to 800 B.C., of the primitive Chaldæan art of the Hittites, which was the immediate inspiration of the prehistoric or pre-Homeric art of Greece, as exemplified by the tombs of Spata and Menedi in Attica, of Orchomenos in Bœotia, and of Nauplia and Mycenæ in Argolis; by the Cyclopean masonry of "walled Tiryns" and of Mycenæ; and, above all, by "the Lion Gate of Mycenæ." To the later centuries of this prolonged period belong the remains found at *Ayazeen* of the dubious art of the Phrygians. During these later centuries also, the artistic manufactures of Egypt and Assyria began to be imported by the Phœnicians into the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands of the Grecian Archipelago; and the kermes red, saffron yellow, and indigo blue garments, and rich embroideries,

the jewellery, and bronze vessels, and arms and armour, and furniture,

"Made all of Hebon and white Yvorie,"

received overland across Asia Minor, and by sea from Sidon, being imitated with ever-increasing skill by the Greeks of Dorian, Crete, Rhodes, Thera, and Melos, and of "suddenly uprising Delos," the centre of the Ionian Cyclades, and the most sacred seat of the Pan-Hellenic worship of Apollo, there gradually rose among them the mixed Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and indigenous insular art, intermediate in character between the prehistoric and the archaic art of Greece, and distinguished as Pelasgian. This phase of Greek art is illustrated by the mass of the "Sidonia wares" found by Schliemann at Mycenæ and Troy, and by the so-called "Island Stones," or ovoid, cubical, and prismatic seals of steatite, sard, agate, jasper, and chalcedony, engraved with an unpremeditated originality and spontaneous sense of beauty that were the sure foretokens of the supreme excellency in the higher representative arts subsequently attained by the Greeks.

Next in order are the remains in Asia Minor of the archaic period of Greek art, arbitrarily reckoned from 776 B.C., the date of the first Olympiad, to 486–479 B.C., the date of the close of the Persian wars with the decisive Greek victories of Salamis and Platæa. During these 300 years, the artistic influence of Assyria was still predominant in Asia Minor and in insular and continental Greece, and gradually led to the development of the proto-Ionic building style, most of the examples whereof in Asia Minor, its native country, disappeared during the destructive progress of the campaigns of Cyrus, and of Darius and Xerxes [546–480–479 B.C.]; excepting in the mountainous and comparatively secluded district of Lycia, where some of the monumental tombs erected before these campaigns survived them unharmed, or were at least restored without any change in their construction and ornamentation; and

have thus preserved to the present time the true type of the crudely compiled Assyro-Aryan art of the period. The so-called "Harpy Tomb," at Xanthus, is one of the earliest of these Lycian monuments; but the later rock-cut sepulchres at Telmissus, Antiphellus, and Myra, and the similar structures at Caryanda, Pinara, and Limyra, none of them probably dating before the third and fourth centuries B.C., as faithfully reflect the architecture of the wooden houses, in which the Aryan Lycians dwelt in the first century of the archaic or proto-Ionic period of Greek art. The so-called "Tomb of the Rock" at Myra may be particularly instanced, on account of the marked Assyrian character of its decorative details. The same foreign features are to be clearly traced in the more advanced Ionic art of the so-called "Monument of the Nereids" at Xanthus, and the Heroon at *Djolbashi.*

It was during this transitionary period of Greek art that the vast Ionic temples, the ruins of the restorations of which after the Persian wars are still to be seen at Branchidæ, Samos, and Ephesus, were first built of marble, in the place of the timber temples that had previously occupied the same sites. It was then also that "glorious" statues [ἀγαλματα] of marble were substituted for the "scraped" wooden images [ξόανα] of the gods; and these noble transformations were all initiated by the Ionians, who, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., were the leading people among the Greeks in all the arts that minister to the dignity, the refinement, and the spirituality of civilised life.

The artistic influence of Assyria during this period moreover extended far beyond Asia Minor and Greece. It had become predominant in Egypt from the tenth century B.C.; and about the same date it must have begun to prevail in Italy; for when Rome was founded in the eighth century, Etruria, or archaic Rome, already possessed its own peculiar national arts, the sources of which must

be sought not only in Egypt and Greece, but directly in Assyria. The Etruscans were not actually, or not altogether Phœnicians, like their intimate allies the Carthagenians, but they received the arts of the East through the Phœnicians, and transmitted them, as modified in passing through their own hands, to the Romans. The Æolian Greeks of Cyme in Asia Minor (who, with the Æolian Greeks of Chalcis in Eubœa, founded Cumæ, the oldest of the Hellenic colonies in Italy, in the eleventh century B.C.) and the Ionian Greeks from Abydos and Naxos, and the Dorian Greeks of Corinth, Megara, Crete, and Rhodes (who settled in Sicily in the eighth century B.C.) also carried with them the same Eastern arts as they practised in Greece, where they had been originally introduced through the Hittites and the Phœnicians, and again adapted them to the local conditions and necessities, and the newly developed manners and customs, of their larger colonial life in "Magna Græcia." The Romans, in their turn, in rising to importance in Italy, borrowed the circular Assyrian arch from the Etruscans, the same arch as has been found among the ruins of the Phœnician substratum of the temple of Solomon [*circa* 1015–980 B.C.] at Jerusalem, and the Egyptian stone lintel from the Campanian Greeks, as also the general plan, construction, and ornamentation of their temples, and domestic dwellings; and the mixed Etruscan and Italiote elements thus combined in the national architecture, run through all the minor arts of Republican Rome. When Greece became a province of the empire [146 B.C.], and Greek architects and sculptors and painters, who had long ceased to depend on Asiatic incentives for their inspiration, were reduced to the humiliation of having to labour for the gratification of the ostentatious tastes of their proud conquerors, the extended application they gave to the round Assyrian arch of Etruria determined the type of the enslaved Greek art of Imperial Rome, as exemplified by the vast basilicas

[literally, στοά βασίλειος, the court in which an Archon presided, a "town hall," a cloister, a warehouse, etc.], and the baths and amphitheatres erected under the Cæsars in every capital city of their world-wide dominions, and by the august Pantheon of Agrippa, and other similarly constructed temples, the lofty domes whereof became the distinctive feature of the churches of Christianised Italy.

The period of the greatest splendour of the arts of Greece, from 480 B.C., the date of the deliverance of the country from the Persians, to 146 B.C., the date of its subjugation by the Romans, signalised by the successive supremacies of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes [480–338 B.C.], the astonishing conquests of Alexander and the Diadochi [338–280 B.C.], and the brilliant reign of the Attalidæ at Pergamum [280–133 B.C.], is marked in Asia Minor by the restored temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and of Here at Samos, the two largest and most magnificent of Greek temples; by the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ; and of Artemis Leucophryne at Magnesia, the most harmonious and beautiful in its proportions of all Ionic temples; by the temple of Dionysos at Téos; the temples of Athene Polias at Priene and at Pergamum; and by the majestic Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

Finally came the Roman period of Greek art, beginning 146 B.C., with the capture of Corinth by Mummius, and ending in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., when classical art was inseparably involved in the overwhelming and conclusive destruction of classical paganism, science and philosophy, wrought by the invasions of the barbarians, and the persecutions of Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, and Justinian. Of this protracted period of the progressive Hellenisation of the Roman Empire, thus violently brought to an end through a series of untoward calamities, culminating in the relentless persecution of the old ethnic religion, the architectural remains in Asia Minor are most instructive, and so numer-

ous that it is impossible here to more than merely indicate the best known of them. These are the Roman theatres at Aspendus in Pamphylia, at Patara in Lycia, at Iasus in Caria, and at Æzani in Phrygia, all of the "Composite Order" of architecture; and the Corinthian temple of Venus at Aphrodisias in Caria, the Ionic temple of Jupiter at Æzani, the Corinthian temple of Augustus at Ancyra in Galatea, the "Composite" temples of Jupiter at Patara, and of "all the gods" at Myra, both in Lycia, and the Corinthian temple near the modern Turkish village of *Kisseljik*, wrongly identified by Fellows with the ancient city of Labranda in Caria.

It was by means of the round-headed arch, superimposed upon the lintel,[1] that the Greeks were enabled to secure that combination of magnitude with impressive stability distinguishing the building style of the imperial period; and, as I have already said, they adopted the expansive framework of the arch from the Etrusco-Italiote architecture of Republican Rome. Yet the universal application of arching and vaulting by them under the Cæsars was probably also in some degree due to the direct reaction at this time of Asiatic, that is, of predominently Assyrian, forms and methods of construction on the Roman world.

The commercial rivalry of the Greeks with the Phœnicians may be dated from the twelfth century B.C., when the Dorians began gradually to dispossess the Phœnicians of their settlements on the islands of the Ægean Sea, so that before the date of the Persian wars in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., Greece had drawn all the surrounding shores of the Mediterranean Sea within the charmed circle of her Hellenic life. Their victorious resistance to Xerxes and Darius, with the consciousness of superiority it inspired, stimulated their energy in every department of

[1] The lintel appears above the arch in the later "debased" Roman architecture, in which Byzantine architecture originated.

national activity, and in particular served wonderfully to develop their commercial enterprise and influence in the Mediterranean during the brief period [from Thermopylæ 480 B.C. to Chæronea 338 B.C.] of the golden prime of the intellectual power and divine artistic genius of the Hellenic race. Thus when Carthage, as the military rival of Rome, was levelled to the ground by Scipio Africanus in the same year [146 B.C.] that Corinth was occupied by Mummius Achaicus, "the unbruised Greeks" at once took over charge of the commercial business of the Phœnicians in the Western Mediterranean; and after the battle at Actium [31 B.C.],[1] where the maritime supremacy of the Phœnicians received its last great blow, the Greeks succeeded them in the Eastern Mediterranean also, and in the control of the commerce of the Indian Ocean; and they held the monopoly thus acquired of the whole sea-borne trade of the Roman Empire down to the conquests of the Saracens in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

The Greeks were now, therefore—about the date of the Christian era—brought, in Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, into familiar and uninterrupted contact with arts that had indeed been already modified by themselves, though the establishment in the fourth century B.C. of the Macedonian dominion of Alexander the Great, and the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, over all Anterior Asia to north-

[1] From the fifth century B.C. onwards, Hellenic art began to prevail all over the Mediterranean, and to take its place as an international art. A little later, i.e. during the fourth century B.C., Carthage, influenced by intercourse with the Greeks of Sicily and Italy, and with the Etruscan and the semi-Hellenic populations of Latium and Campania, must have partly abandoned the poor and unorganised [unassimilated] forms of Phœnician art for that of the richer style she now saw rising around her. Greek rivalry drove the Phœnicians out of the Ægean, and into the Western Mediterranean, and from thence into the Atlantic. The fall of Tyre prevented the Phœnicians from expelling the Greeks from Marseilles, and the efforts of the Carthaginians having also failed to take up the rôle of Greeks in the Western Mediterranean, the latter, under the ægis of Rome, became the predominant mercantile power in both the Western and the Eastern Mediterranean, and even pushed their adventurous cargoes to the shrouded shores of far-off Britain.

western India [" India alba "], and in Egypt, but which still, particularly in the building style of these countries, preserved traces not to be found in Greece or even in Italy, of the vague and barbaric grandeur of the Egypto-Mesopotamian temples and palaces of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, wherein the architecture and subsidiary decorative arts of the civilised world have everywhere had their origin. Thus probably it was not less to the intimate intercourse of the Greeks from the time of Alexander the Great and his successors with Anterior Asia, than to the universal influence of Rome under the Cæsars, that we owe the aggrandised features of the almost rankly luxuriant classical art of the Græco-Roman period.

At the same time that Greek art was thus adapting itself to the varied requirements of the Roman Empire, it in turn modified the local art of every nation brought under its influence in the course of the conquests of the Cæsars and the commerce of the Greeks ; and to this day in Persia, the Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana, Central and Western India, and other countries of " the unchanging East," the domestic architecture is more Roman (that is, of the Pompeian villa, or " country house " type) than in modern Rome itself ; a circumstance, undoubtedly, in some part due to the timber construction used in their dwellings by the Aryas wherever they spread themselves, but principally attributable to the direct artistic impress of the Græco-Roman period on these Asiatic regions.

This interaction between the West and the East produced, between 226 B.C. and A.D. 652, the Sassanian art of Persia. Again, when classical art, in its later " debased Roman " form, sought a refuge in Constantinople [A.D. 330] from the barbarians who overthrew the Western Empire, it there, in the service of Eastern Christianity, and under the influence of Sassanian, and Indo-Buddhistic, and Coptic art, transformed itself, between the sixth and twelfth centuries A.D., into Byzantine art ; of which

a strong outpost was planted at Ravenna, in Italy [568–752].

Then on the Nestorian Greeks being driven in the fifth and sixth centuries from Constantinople, they fled into Syria, Persia, and Egypt, and from Persia, where, as seceders from the Church identified with the Eastern Empire, they were most hospitably received, they spread into Arabia, and Central Asia to the confines of China, and into India, until, in the fourteenth century, their further diffusion was cut short by the conquests and persecutions of the Mongols under Timur. But they had carried with them from the first the nascent principles of Byzantine art, and in the seventh and eighth centuries were everywhere accepted by the Saracen Arabs as their architects and artisans ; and limiting themselves, in conformity with the religious scruples of their employers, in part shared by themselves, to the production of floral and geometrical ornamentation, they, on the foundations of Sassanian, Coptic, and Byzantine art, created Saracenic art as the ultimate Eastern expression of Greek art.

Similarly in the West, on Leo III [Isauricus], 717, expelling the makers of images from Constantinople, they sought sanctuary in Italy, where, under the patronage of Charlemagne [768–814], they gave a direction to the architecture of the Christianised barbarians who had overthrown the Western Empire, which, notwithstanding the continuing vitality of the traditions of classical art in Italy and France, resulted in the development, between the ninth and sixteenth centuries A.D., of the sublime Gothic art of Mediæval Europe.

Such have been the outgrowths from the rudimentary Egypto-Mesopotamian art of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia under the fostering influences of the rationalising, artistic genius of the Greeks : and the debt to it of Sassanian, Indo-Buddhistic, Coptic, Byzantine, Saracenic, and Gothic art may be learned, not only from the remains

of indigenous Egyptian and Mesopotamian architecture, but from those arts of Southern and Posterior Asia, derived directly from Mesopotamia, that have never been modified by the harmonising touch of the Greeks, or only indirectly and partially, through very imperfect contact with Saracenic art along the secluded commercial coasts, and far remote frontiers of the countries where they have survived the term put to antiquity in Anterior Asia and Europe by the fall of the Western and Eastern Roman Empires, and the rise of Christendom and Islam. Such are the calyptric Hindu arts of Southern or Dravadian India [" India nigra "] and the derived ecclesiastical [Buddhist] arts of Ceylon, Further India, the Indian Archipelago, and of the Chinese and Japanese Indies [" India flava "].

But if the marvellous adaptation to local conditions of the Western forms of Egypto-Mesopotamian art was everywhere the work of the Greeks, and the eastward and westward propagation of them that of the Phœnicians and Arabs, the primitive impulse to the artistic life and activity of the Old World was not given by the " keen-eyed Greeks "[1] or the " go-a-ducking Phœnicians," but by the redoubtable Hittites, who, advancing their conquering banners

" ———from Syria
To Lydia, and to Ionia,"

first extended the religious, military, scientific, artistic, and commercial culture of Asia from Chaldæa, the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, westward to our own " sunset lands " of Europe: and this makes their unique importance—by whatever name they may be called—in the history of art, as told by its monuments, the most truthful and trustworthy of the authentic archives of antiquity.

[1] " The Æthiop gods have Æthiop lips,
Bronze cheeks and woolly hair;
The Grecian gods are like the Greeks,
As keen-eyed, calm, and fair."

ORIENTAL CARPETS[1]

"Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichniss;
Das Unzulängliche,
Hier wirds Ereigniss;
Das Unbeschreibliche,
Hier ists gethan."—GOETHE, *Faust*, ii. Th.

"Ingens decorum omnium templum Mundus."—*Senecæ Epistolæ*, xc.

I

EARLY CIVILISATIONS

AS I have to deal with the question of the origin of Oriental carpets, I will at once state that, having from my earliest childhood been familiarised with the entire range of the artistic handicrafts of Southern and Western Asia, and, for the last 60 years of my life, with every passage in classical literature relating to the sumptuary arts of antiquity, and having always been accustomed to interpret the whole life of the ancient pagan West by that of the modern, but still, for the greater part, pagan East, I have long since been led, by an overwhelming inference from the gradually accumulated special facts thus ever present to my mind, to the tentative conclusion that the sumptuary carpets now manufactured in Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, and India, are, in texture, design, and colouring, and indeed in every decorative detail and technical manipu-

[1] Originally published as a monograph in *Oriental Carpets* (Vienna: Imperial Ministry of Commerce, Worship, and Education, 1893), under the title of "The Timeless Antiquity, Historical Continuity, and Integral Identity of the Oriental Manufacture of Sumptuary Carpets." The work was elaborately prepared at a cost of £60,000.—ED.

lation, essentially identical, in all their traditionary denominations, with the Oriental carpets known to the Greeks and Romans; and that, through "the dark backward, and abysm of time," no limit can be given, on this side of 5000 B.C., to the date of their origin in the Valley of the Nile, and by the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

I deliberately indicate Egypt first, and Chaldæa, or archaic Babylonia with Assyria, second. Civilisation no doubt appeared in its initial Turanian aspects simultaneously in the Valleys of the Indus, the Ganges, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile, and the Yang-tse-Kiang. But even in the protracted period of universal Turanian predominance it must have advanced more regularly in countries which, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, are exposed to an annual overflow from the rivers draining them, than in countries, like India and China, not subject to annual inundation. Its progress must also have been more rapid in the countries lying along the middle course of the immemorial overland trade route between the East and West, as do Egypt and Mesopotamia, than in those that mark the extreme limits of that trade, as do China and the countries of Southern and Western Europe; while it would reach its higher developments only in those countries where, all other conditions being favourable, the aboriginal populations, whether Turanian or Nigritian, gradually became mixed with immigrant Caucasian races, as with Hamites and Aryas (Japhetites) in India, and Semites, Hamites, and Aryas, in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The Caucasian type of civilisation undoubtedly had its actual beginning in Chaldæa; or somewhere on the shores of the Persian Gulf, between the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates and the highlands of Kirman, along the tract of Susiana, and Persis or archaic Persia, corresponding with the modern Iranian provinces of Laristan, Fars, and Khuzistan; for Chaldæa was nearer the fertile plains of the industrial pre-Aryan populations of India than

Egypt was; and was the first point of exchange for the overland commerce between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. But civilisation became more broadly and fully developed in Egypt than in Chaldæa, and afterwards in Assyria and Babylonia; and while Chaldæa undoubtedly exerted an earlier, and at all times more direct, influence on the civilisation of the East, not only throughout Anterior Asia, but in India, and even, as Professor Terrien de Lacouperie has shown, in China, and in the end deeply affected, through Assyria and Phrygia, the arts of Greece, it was Egypt that from its beginnings, and, for countless centuries, almost exclusively inspired the prehistoric civilisation of the West. If, therefore, civilisation did not positively originate in Egypt, it there first made itself manifest in the imposing sepulchres, temples, and palaces, and the innumerable necrological, ritualistic, and sumptuary manufactures dependent on them, that exercised so marked an effect on the technical and æsthetic arts of Etruria and Greece, and through them of Europe; and also on the architecture and handicrafts of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, and through them, as well as more directly in the time of the Ptolemies, on the architecture and handicrafts of Aryan India. We cannot fix the date of the oldest pyramid in the Valley of the Nile later than about 5000 B.C.; and for not less, at the lowest computation, than the 1700 years between 2700 and 1000 B.C., Egypt was a light, to lighten the world, the lofty lone Pharos in the outer darkness of the Neolithic night of Europe; and she continued to occupy this position of solitary supremacy in relation to the West, until the dawn of civilisation in the Valley of the Nile grew, between 480–403 B.C. and 336–280 B.C., to the perfect day of Greece.

If these profound chronological retrospects are not yet fully appreciated in Europe, whose age, counting from the mythical foundation of Rome, 753 B.C., to the present day,

falls far short of that of the combined Old (Memphian 5000–3100 B.C. ?) and Middle (First Theban 3100–1700 B.C.) Pharaonic Empires and barely equals that of the New Empire (Second Theban, 1700 B.C.), when its term is extended beyond its overthrow by Alexander the Great, 332 B.C., to the Arab conquest of Northern Africa, A.D. 638–40 : if, in short, we find it hard to believe that the history of the whole civilised world is but the sequel of, and relative to, that of Egypt, it is simply because of the inveteracy of the inherited prejudice of the West in dating its civilisation from the incipiency of the arts of Greece. But the first period of Egyptian greatness, under the Pharaohs who ruled at Memphis and raised the pyramids, as also the second, under the Pharaohs who ruled from Thebes and built the temples of Luxor and Karnac, had passed away long before Cecrops started from Sais in Lower Egypt for Athens, or Danaus from Chemmis (now Akhmim) in Upper Egypt for Argos, or Cadmus had emigrated from Phœnicia to Thebes (Bœotia), or Pelops from Phrygia to Elis ; and before the legendary " voyage of the Argonauts," and the expedition of " the Seven against Thebes," and " the flood of Deucalion," the son of Prometheus, the mythical author of Western civilisation. Indeed, the third period of Egyptian greatness, under the dynasties of the New Theban Empire, had reached its culmination, and was turning to its decline, when, through the lifting mists of the morning of history in the Mediterranean Sea, we for the first time discover, in the sunshine of Homer, the azure prows and ruddy sides (" cheeks ") of the hollow warships of the bronze-mailed Greeks (Achæans), and their allies, fleeting as fast as oar and sail can bear them to the assiege of Troy—the earliest indication we possess, of any historical value, of the nascent international life of South-Eastern Europe.

It is about the same time that a distant sound, as of war chariots and horses in motion, is heard in the East,

from beyond the Euphrates, the first presage of the rising power of Assyria, whose dogged rivalry for Empire with Egypt (1271–607 B.C.), transmitted in succession to Babylonia (747–578 B.C.), Achæmenian Persia (559–331 B.C.), and Greece (500–332 B.C.), at last brought the long and often renewed glories of the Pharaohs to a full and not incongruous close (332 B.C.).

For in consequence of Alexandria, notwithstanding the competition of Seleucia, the capital of Western Asia, until superseded by Ctesiphon, becoming, under the Ptolemies 332 B.C.–A.D. 30, the great focus of the trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, a trade it continued to attract under the Cæsars, notwithstanding the stronger competition of Ctesiphon,[1] A.D. 226–652, the industrial predominance of Egypt remained unshaken until the conquests of the Arabs, during the seventh century A.D., in Syria, Northern Africa, and Persia, followed by those of the Turks, and other Tartars, gradually broke up and destroyed the great historical trade, through Mesopotamia and Egypt, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean; and with the triumph of Christianity in the West, and of Islam in the East, brought antiquity to its final end in Europe, and over the greater part of Southern and Anterior Asia.

The rapid and exceptional development of the civilisation of Egypt, and the widespread influence it exercised, were the natural consequence of the unique geographical position of the country. Chaldæa commanded the Indian Ocean only, being 800 miles distant from the Mediterranean Sea. It thus lost the larger portion of the trade between the two seas; while not all the trade passing between Anterior and Farther Asia necessarily passed through Chaldæa; and in fact much of it crossed the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, more to the northward, through

[1] Al-Modayn, as the place was called by the Sassanians, included both Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and was superseded, under the Arabs, by Kufa.

Assyria and Media. Chaldæa, therefore, although watered by a river subject to annual flooding, and lying much nearer than Egypt to India, must have always held its prosperity by a comparatively precarious tenure ; and the remark applies equally to Assyria and Babylonia.

Egypt, on the other hand, is situated beside a narrow isthmus, uniting two vast continents, and separating two seas ; and therefore the chief part of the trade between Asia and Africa, and between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, always in ancient times passed through Egypt ; and for over 5000 years that country took toll and tithe of it all. Dynasties rose and fell, and foreign invaders came and went, but the Nile in its regular ebb and flood, flowed on for ever ; and until the Turkish conquest of Anterior Asia and Northern Africa, and the discovery of the ocean way to the Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, the overland trade also ceaselessly flowed through the Valley of the Nile, the mid point of earth ; and thus doubly and perennially enriched, the Egyptians were enabled, for from 40 to 50 centuries B.C., to fill the world with their manufactures, in the same proportionate profusion as Manchester and Sheffield and Birmingham are filling it now, and to cover their country with public works, which for magnitude and utility can only be compared with the Mont Cenis Tunnel, and the Suez Canal, the two greatest triumphs of the engineering enthusiasm and joint-stock enterprise of the nineteenth century A.D.

If also Egypt received some of the germs of its civilisation from primeval Chaldæa, they sprang up in the country to which they had been transplanted as if the indigenous growth of its own soil. The traditions of the Egyptians of their own origin were not associated with those of any other people ; nor was their idiosyncratic civilisation connected with any other ; whilst every other civilisation, both in the East and the West, is more or less related to that of Egypt. Every true alphabet is ultimately, in the

greater number of its letters, of Egyptian origin ; and if no link has yet been found between the gold and silver weights of Mesopotamia and the still unintelligible metrology of the ancient Egyptians, we may be sure that the progress of modern research is destined to demonstrate a close kindred between them ; as also between the latter and the primitive copper weights and copper money of the oldest countries of Europe and Asia. Egypt was one of the sources of Greek science and mythology, and the chief source of the refining and elevating elements in Greek art. The religion of the Jews was under obvious obligations to Egypt ; and when the Egyptians, very much in consequence of their inherent belief in the immortality of the soul—whereon indeed the whole fabric of their civilisation was based—spontaneously accepted Christianity, the new religion received from them the leaven of the mysticism and puritanism that have ever since characterised it, in its prevailing ecclesiastical and popular forms. They are the direct source of the unnatural repugnance shown by some Christian sectaries to the cultivation of the fine arts, the glorious issue of the polytheism of Greece, in its efforts to give expression to the instinctive Aryan tendency to humanism in religion, as opposed to the morbid, self-mortifying proclivities of the polytheism of Hamitic Egypt.

In view of the absolute priority and measureless duration of Pharaonic civilisation, it seems strange, at first sight, that there should be so little tangible evidence of the impulse the arts of the Old World must necessarily have received from Egypt, in comparison with the ubiquitous proofs of their obligations to Mesopotamia. We know that the Doric column, and possibly the core of the Corinthian "capital," came from Egypt, and that the Doric style in Greek art was generally affected by the intercourse of Greece with Egypt ; and if the plastic fine art of Greece drew any inspiration from abroad, it was rather from the

idealising art of Egypt, than from the grossly realising art of Mesopotamia. But beyond this the influence of Egypt on the existing arts of the world is very much a matter of presumption. That of Mesopotamia, on the other hand, is demonstrable by an immense induction of instances; for it has left its immutable impress, as fresh and sharp to-day as when first imparted between four and five thousand years ago, on all the handicraft arts of the conservative East; while there is scarcely a conventional ornament in use in the ever-changeful West that cannot be unravelled from the modifications it may have undergone, whether from ignorant employment without reference to symbolism, or from the caprice of fashion, and traced back step by step, to its first, crude, allusive form, in Chaldæa and Assyria. In short, not only the Ionic column, but all that is Ionic in the arts of Greece, and in the derivative arts of Europe, originated in Mesopotamia.

A moment's reflection suggests the obvious explanation. The operative force of Egyptian civilisation for the 3000 years before it joined hands, about the twentieth century B.C., with that of Mesopotamia, was chiefly spent, and in a sense spent in vain, on the prehistoric inhabitants of the Neolithic age in Europe. But the historical Aryan races were already extending themselves over Europe, and overspreading Persia and India, when the Chaldæans began, about the same time that they organised their commercial communications with Egypt, to navigate the Indian Ocean, and to plant their arts, under the shield of the Hittites, in Syria and in Asia Minor. Thenceforth both India and Greece remained in almost constant communication with Mesopotamia—Greece, both intermediately through the Phœnicians, and immediately through the overland trade between the Persian Gulf and the Ægean Sea—until gradually all Anterior Asia, with Egypt and Upper India, and Greece, were made one with each other under the Hellenistic Empire of Alexander the

Great, and the Diadochi, and Epigoni; and, afterward, excepting India and Persia, with Rome, under the Cæsars. The energetic West thus rendered back sevenfold into its bosom the harvest of the foreign seeds of technical culture originally brought from the East—the type which the Byzantine Greeks, in the service of the conquering Arabs, imposed on the Egypto-Mesopotamian building and decorative style of Anterior Asia having survived to the present day as the so-called Saracenic art of Islam.

How far-reaching and fruitful were the direct Hellenising influences exerted by the conquests of the Macedonians is illustrated by the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures near Jellalabad, in Afghanistan, and near Peshawur, in the Punjab; and, although later in date, by the colossal strangely-mixed deities, Zeus-Oromazdes, Apollo-Mithras, and the like, discovered in 1882 on the summit of the Nimrud-Dagh, 6,500 feet above sea-level, and there raised, as the inscription on them state, for the adornment of the Græco-Persian (pre-Byzantine) tomb prepared for himself by Antiochus I, who reigned over Commagene 69–34 B.C.

The generic identity of the universal industrial arts of the old democratic life of Asia and Europe is thus seen to be due chiefly to their being the immediate offspring of the Egypto-Mesopotamian arts of ancient Greece and Rome, and to their long precedent, more direct, derivation from the Semiticised primitive Turano-Hamitic arts of Central and Anterior Asia; every tribe of Aryas that settled in Europe having had to traverse on its westward way the line of Egypto-Mesopotamian commerce that, from about the twentieth century B.C., extended continuously from Inner Africa to Central Asia. In some degree also it is due to the renewal of the Semiticised primitive Turano-Hamitic arts of Central and Anterior Asia, particularly in Transalpine Europe, by the Aryan and Turanian barbarians who overthrew the Roman

Empire; and to the parallel renewal of them in Cisalpine Europe by the westward propagation of Christianity, and, later, of Mahometanism, from Anterior Asia. And in a less, but still appreciable measure, it is due to the mediæval overland trade of Genoa and Venice with the East; and again to the modern sea-borne trade established by Portugal, Holland, and England with India, the only country of the pan-Aryan pale of the Old World that has maintained the uninterrupted historical continuity, and the imprescriptible heirship of antiquity.

II

The Ancient History of Carpets

In this brief review of the commercial and political conditions and vicissitudes of the two greatest industrial populations of antiquity, and of the evolutions along the course of their international relations of the economic, educational, and æsthetic arts, and religious culture of their intrinsically identical civilisations, we may trace in outline the history of the rise and progress of the immemorially famous Oriental manufacture of sumptuary carpets. Already, sometime between 1000 and 800 B.C., they were known to Homer and the Homeridæ; and if we bear in mind that the people of antiquity did not strictly discriminate (as we, since the seventeenth century only, have learned to do) between carpets and other tapestries, such as tablecloths, counterpanes, and coverlets generally, and curtains, and hangings of every description, it at once becomes clear that already at the time of the composition of the Iliad and Odyssey these textiles had acquired the ritualistic Euphratean types by which they have since been predominently characterised throughout Central, and Southern, and Western Asia. It is also clear that in their passage through Phœnicia and Phrygia, into Europe, and in

the course of their adaptation to the purposes of the Greeks, and subsequently of the Romans, these textiles were, for the most part, completely secularised; although in some of their uses, as for the veils of temples, they retained, down to the conversion of Europe to Christianity, the plenary religious significance always borne by them at Memphis and Thebes, and at Babylon and Nineveh, the four chief centres of their primary production.[1]

From Egypt, and from Chaldæa (later Babylonia), and

[1] The decoration of textile fabrics was at first entirely ritualistic, and prehistorically it would seem to have originated in tattooing: from which the rich symbolical vestments worn by kings and priests have, over the greater part of the world, been obviously derived. The practice was once universal, and is still widespread; and where it yet survives, is invariably ritualistic, indicating the relation of those so "stigmatised" to their tribes and tribal divinities. That is to say, the typology of tattooing, as still practised, is invariably totemistic and mythological, its mythology, most frequently, being of cosmological significance. And this was always so. In Genesis iv. 15, it is said:—"And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him." In Ezekiel ix. 4 and 6, in the vision foreshadowing the destruction of Jerusalem for idolatry, a mark is set on the forehead of the men who remained true to Javeh, that they might be spared when the idolaters were slain utterly, "old and young, both maids, and little children, and women," and without sparing or pity. In Galatians vi. 17, St. Paul says:—"For I bear in my body the marks [στίγματα, literally, "prickings with a needle," i.e. tattooing] of the Lord Jesus"; and in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, xiii. 16, xiv. 9, 11, etc., we have repeated references to the mark of the beast, and to the mark on those who overcome the beast. Here the word invariably used is χάραγμα—"a mark engraven" or "imprinted." The Hebrew word used in Ezekiel is *tau*, which is the Egyptian sign of the male element in nature and of life. Again, Herodotus ii. 113, in the Egyptian account of the flight of Helen with Paris, says, that on reaching Egypt their attendants went off to the temple on the banks of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, and there dedicated themselves to Hercules; in sign thereof "receiving certain marks on their person"; and thus delivering themselves from the service of the guilty fugitives. The historian adds:—"The law still remained unchanged to my time." This ritualistic tattooing was early forbidden by the Jews, probably from opposition to the Egyptians, as is seen in Leviticus xix. 28:—"Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you; I am Javeh": and Ptolemy Philopator (222–205 B.C.), in his malignant hatred of the Jews, forced them to be tattooed with ivy leaves in honour of the god Dionysos, whose ivy leaf he himself bore tattooed on his forehead. Those who did not submit to the idolatrous brand, as the Jews deemed it, were outlawed.

Herodian tells us how the ancient Britons were printed with representations of the heavenly bodies; and among the savages seen by the early

Assyria, the manufacture of carpets spread into Asia Minor (Khita), where, at a very early period, it attained to great perfection in Phrygia (probably at Hierapolis, Dindymum, Fessinus, etc.), and Lydia (more anciently Mæonia, at Sardes); and into Phœnicia (at Sidon and Tyre), and across to the island of Cyprus, where the primitive Nilotic, as distinguished from the archaic Euphratean, type of these textiles was perpetuated later than elsewhere in the East. On the destruction of Nineveh and Babylon

European navigators along the coasts of the Americas, and in the South Seas, the tattooing was always found to be of this ouranographic description. Now we know from the Orphic Hymns that the spotted leopard's skin, or the spotted deer's skin (compare the spotted deer's skin worn by the Hindu Siva), worn by the worshippers of Dionysos, symbolised the shining frame of the spangled heavens, and the golden girdle the stream of ocean, and the crimson robe intertissued with gold, the life-giving light and heat of the glorious sun. Here, the passage from tattooing to dress is clearly indicated and the ritualistic origin of, at least, sumptuary vestments. Similar evidence is afforded by the descriptions of textile fabrics given by classical writers I subsequently quote, which all go to prove the identity of ancient pattern designing in textiles with that still being everywhere pursued in Anterior and Southern Asia. The Mussulmans, following the Jews, rejected tattooing, but the fellaheen in Egypt, and the ryots in Syria, and certain of the women in Persia also, still tattoo themselves.

Many of the aboriginal tribes of India, and some of the Burmans also, follow the practice, which, at present, reaches its highest elaboration in the great Polynesian South Sea, extended between Posterior Asia and the Continents of America. And everywhere throughout those regions it is totemistic or mythological, and in India, in Java, and in others of the South Sea Islands, it has transparently suggested the ritualistic vestments that have taken its place for the use of those locally exercising the sacerdotal or sovereign authority. Nowhere is it found used merely for its attractiveness. In fact, in Burma, women are frequently tattooed expressly to detract from their beauty. In the early ages of the Christian Church nuns were for this very reason similarly stigmatised. Branding is indeed a survival of ritualistic tattooing, as are also crests and coats-of-arms as regards the objects borne. The ritualistic character of the dress, including the head-dress, shoes, and jewelry, of the Pharaohs, and the Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Babylonian kings, is obvious and undeniable. Painting the body probably very widely marked the passage from tattooing to the use of vestments; and the extreme sanctity attaching to tattooing is proved by the practice of its subsisting, at least as a poetic figure, among the Jews, long after it had been forbidden among them by law; by its continued prevalence in Mahometan countries; and by such legends as that of the miraculous stigmatisation of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Catherine of Siena, and other saints of the rival Franciscans and Dominicans.

the manufacture, after flourishing for a while at Susa, was taken up with great activity at Alexandria ; and also at Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Al-Modayn ; and from Alexandria was imported into Western India ; and from Al-Modayn and Ctesiphon and Seleucia, as earlier from Susa, if not still earlier from Babylon, into Southern India. Finally, the Saracens, and the Seljuk, and Osmanli Turks, and other Tartars, who followed the Saracens in the propagation of the Empire of Islam, established the manufacture at Kufa, as the modern representative of ancient Al-Modayn, Seleucia, and Babylon ; at Aleppo and Damascus ; at Baghdad in supersession of Kufa ; at Cairo, the modern representative of ancient Alexandria, Thebes, and Memphis ; at Kairwan, the modern representative, as regards the ritualistic arts of Northern Africa, of ancient Carthage ; at Cordova in Spain ; at Ushak (Brousa) and Koula, the modern representatives of Sardes (Mæonia) and Dindymum in Asia Minor ; at Ardebil, Ferahan, Kermanshah, Gostchan, Shuster (the modern representative of ancient Susa), Shiraz, Murghab, Teheran, Mashad, Herat, Subzawar, Sennah, Yezd, Kashan, and Kirman in Persia ;[1] at Samarkand, Bokhara, Khiva, and Yarkand in Central Asia ; at Kabul in Afghanistan ; at Quetta in Baluchistan ; and at Jammu, Hyderabad (Sindh), Shikarpur, Khirpur, Lahore, Fathipur, Agra, Allahabad, Benares, Mirzapur, Murshedabad, Gorakpur, Patna, Arcot, Ellore, Nellore, Masulipatam, Warangal, Bellary, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, and elsewhere, in India.

And wherever throughout the modern world of the East the Mahometans introduced them, they employed in the decoration of their sumptuary textile fabrics, and particularly of their carpets, the same ancient Euphratean types of embroided, or inwoven, genii, seraph-beasts, and " Trees of Life," and the same floral diapers, of " the knop

[1] The modern town of Sultanabad, in Irak Ajami, is now the chief centre of the carpet manufacture of North-Western Persia.

and flower" pattern, with the same borderings of sea and cloud scrolls, river meanders, mural gradines and chevrons, as are sculptured on the Nineveh marbles, and enamelled on the tiles of Susa. These strictly emblematical devices, as ultimately drawn in faultless beauty by the Greeks, but, unfortunately, without due reference to their spiritual prefiguration, have also, for over twenty centuries, furnished the inexhaustible types of conventional ornamentation to the architects, sculptors, painters, and artistic handicraftsmen of the entire ancient pagan, and modern Christian, West. Where the orthodox Sunni, or non-Aryan, form of Islam prevailed, as in Arabia and Central Asia, the animal types were eliminated from Saracenic art; but where its schismatic Shiah, or Aryan, form was developed, they survived, as in Persia, and parts of India; as partially also in the Sunni countries of Islam, which, before their conquest by the Arabs, had been brought under intimate and enduring Aryan (Hellenic) influences, namely, Egypt, and, in a less degree, Northern Africa generally, and Syria. But even in Asia Minor the drawing of "the Tree of Life," in the local carpet manufacture, is still severely Euphratean in character; while the carpets of the Caucasus (Daghestan), Kurdistan, and Central Asia, including Yarkand, alike in the details of their conventional ornamentation and their brilliant and harmonious colouring, are, we may surmise, absolutely identical with those of ancient Assyria and Babylonia.

After these, the wonderful carpets of Bangalore (Malabar) probably approach, in their bold scale of design, and archaic force of colouring, nearest to their Euphratean prototypes. The old blue and red chequered cotton carpets (*satranjis*) of the Mahrattas, and the gaily-striped, or otherwise mat-patterned, cotton rugs (*daris*)[1] of Kathiawar, Gujarat, and Rajputana, have in their crude, primitive

[1] For the etymology of this word, see footnote on the word "*Susangird*," p. 291.

designs, and almost prismatic colours—black, orange, red, yellow, green, blue, and white—preserved their ancient Egyptian physiognomy, of the period of the Ptolemies, without the slightest change, to the present day; while the Indian *susni*,[1] or counterpane, embroidered with white water-lilies, has preserved in its name the record of its original importation from Susa, i.e. the "City of Lilies." There need be the less difficulty, therefore, in coming to the conclusion that the grand (and, in India, quite exceptional) type of the magnificent carpets of Bangalore, is to be traced back, through a direct descent of over two thousand years, to the spacious palaces of Susa and Babylon.

In Persia the Euphratean type of the local manufacture of curtains, coverlets, and carpets survived the alien Arabs and the Samani, Sabuktagini, and Seljuki Turks, and the Timuri Mongols; and it was not until the reign of Shah Abbas the Great, A.D. 1587–1629, the fourth sovereign of the native Shiah dynasty of the Sufawis ("Sophis"), that a change was effected in the designs of these sumptuary tapestries, under the direction of the young Persians who, according to the tradition, as the late Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke informed me, of the modern Persians, had been sent by the Shiah Shah to learn painting in Italy "under Raffael" (A.D. 1483–1520), and certainly under masters of the school of Raphael. The Italianesque style thus introduced in the treatment of modern Persian carpets, and, with marked local modifications, of the Masulipatam (Coromandel) and other denominations of Indian carpets, if a departure from the traditionary Euphratean mode, is yet undeniably pleasing; and on account of its broken patterning, and generally diffused colouring, is better adapted to carpets intended for European rooms, where they are crowded over and overshadowed by other furni-

[1] For the etymology of this word, see footnote on the word "*Susangird*," p. 291.

ture, than the severely co-ordinated designs, and immense masses of clearly-defined deep-toned colours of the carpets of Ushak, Koula, and Bangalore. These are seen to their fullest advantage only when spread under the domes of the mosques, or in the outer courts of the temples, or along the audience-chambers of the palaces, for which they are, in the first instance, manufactured.

The late Sir Bartle Frere had one of these Abbasi Persian carpets brought for him by Sir Frederic Goldsmid, direct from Kirman. It is referred to by Sir Henry Yule in a note on the chapter (17), " concerning the Kingdom of Kirman," in Book I of his edition of the *Travels of Ser Marco Polo;* and I knew it well. The field was of a creamy white, overspread with pink and yellow roses, and the border black and green, scrolled with white roses and red. Another Persian carpet of this Italianesqued style was seen at the Vienna Exhibition of 1876; the field of marigold yellow, all over diapered with pinks, and the border of dark turquoise blue, conventionally scrolled in yellow and true full pink. Both carpets reflected the light from their enchanted surfaces with the transparent radiance of the purest gems, harmonised to the neutral bloom of a richly-variegated garden seen in the soft sunshine of the dawning day, so skilfully were their rare colours blended.

The patronage by Abbas the Great of these Italianised carpets, as fresh and fair and fragrant as one of his own enclosed paradises, was no matter of caprice or accident, but part of the general reaction of the Persians in the sixteenth century A.D. against the degrading tyranny of their Turanian oppressors; and due, as its predisposing cause, to the instinctive love of the Iranian Aryas, as of every Aryan race, for the beauties of nature, and more especially for the swelling blossoms of the spring, the Raphael of the northern earth, as Jean Paul Richter has, in one word, so exquisitely described it :—" der Raphael

der Norderde." The Parsis of half a century ago used to frequent the Victoria Gardens, in Bombay, simply to "eat the air," that is, to take a good healthy walk there; and the Hindus to sniff at the most heavily scented blooms, which they would crush between their fingers, and apply, like snuff, to their noses. But when a pure Iranian sauntered through, in his flowing robe of blue, red-edged, and high hat of sheepskin, "black, glossy, curled, the fleece of Karakul," he would stand awhile and meditate over every flower in his path, and always as in vision; and when at last the vision was fulfilled, and the ideal flower found, he would spread his mat, or carpet, before it, and sit before it to the going down of the sun, when he would arise and pray before it, and then refold his mat, or carpet, and go home. The next night, and night after night until that bright, particular flower faded away, he would return to it, bringing his friends with him in ever-increasing numbers, and sit and sing, and play the guitar or lute before it; and anon they all would arise together and pray before it; and after prayers, still sit on, sipping sherbet, and talking the most hilarious and shocking scandal, late into the moonlight: and so again and again, evening after evening, until the beauteous flower died, satiated of worship. Some evenings, by way of a grand finale, the whole company would suddenly rise up, as one man, before the bright, consummate flower, and serenade it with an ode from Hafiz, and thereupon, rolling up their carpets, depart into the silences of the outer night.[1]

[1] The attitude of the orthodox [Sunni], or non-Aryan Muslim towards flowers, is different from that of the heterodox [Shiah], or Aryan Muslim of Persia; and finds its exact expression in the profound saying, attributed to "the Prophet of God":—"The flowers of the Garden of God, this Earth of ours, are every one an 'Alleluia!'" When, some years ago, the Khedive was here, two of His Highness's suite, walking across St. James's Park from Storey's Gate, as I happened to be walking down from the Duke of York's Column to the India Office, coming upon a recessed group of various roses within the park railing, just before it turns westward to Buckingham Palace, struck by the transcendent beauty of the freshly blooming bushes, at once halted, and after giving them a spontaneous

Notwithstanding, however, the natural charm of the Abbasi Persian carpets of modern trade, the palm for pre-

military salute, went through the postures—excepting that of absolute prostration upon the roadway—observed by Mussalmans in the adoration of Almighty God. Mentioning this to the late Sir Charles Malcolm Kennedy, he told me that when, some years previously, he, on behalf of the Foreign Office, took an Envoy from Morocco about London, he seemed indifferent to everything shown him, that is, of the works of man; but when on entering the road skirting Flamsteed Hill—[Greenwich Observatory]—they suddenly came upon a handsome laburnum tree laden with its festoons of golden flowers, the Envoy at once stopped the carriage, and stepping down into the road, stood there for a while before the glorious apparition, similarly adoring God. Again, the attitude of the Hindus towards flowers is something different from that of both sects of Mussalmans. There is not a flower they have not dedicated to one or other of their gods,—and always on the basis of its phallic suggestions, which they were quick to observe millenniums before Erasmus Darwin sung of "The Loves of the Plants"; and their folk-lore of flowers is as delightful as it is luxuriant. But this apart, they seem to regard the wonders of the vegetable kingdom chiefly for their use as foodstuffs, and medicines, and scents. Nevertheless the floral ritual of the Hindus is often in its naturalness of sentiment and simplicity of observance most impressive. The sacred *tulsi* (Ocymum sanctum), a most perfect purifier of the air, is planted before every Hindu house, on a four-horned altar, and every morning "the Mother of the House" is,—or was, in my time,—to be seen perambulating it in archaic worship, invoking the blessings of Heaven on "the father of her children," and on them, and herself. I was always spellbound by the rite, so perfect alike in its science, its piety, and its art; and it is one of the most moving scenes from the life of antiquity that have been perpetuated in India down to our modernity.

It is only with the decay of virility in the West that men begin to regret in the beauty and the glory of flowers, that they should ever fade and wither away. This irrational taint begins with Horace (C., ii. **11**; and contrast Anacreon, liii.):—

"Non semper idem floribus est honos
Vernis";

and from him the sigh passes to Ausonius [Idyll xiv.]:—

"Collige virgo rosas, dum flos novus, et nova pubes
Et memor esto saevum [*sic*] properare tuum";

and to Ronsard:—

"*Cuillez des aujourd'huy les roses de la vie*";

and on to Herrick:—

"Gather ye rose buds while ye may";

and

"Fair daffadells we weep to see
You haste away so soon."

This feeling is incomprehensible to a Muslim, who, in the inner court of the soul, sees in the phenomena of the outer court of the senses, the eternal witnesses of the infinite power, and wisdom, and goodness of a divine Creator, dwelling in the secret place of his habitation within the close-drawn curtains of "the Holy of Holies."

eminent artistic merit, above all other denominations of Oriental carpets now manufactured for merely commercial gain, must be awarded to those of Masulipatam and Bangalore; to the former, for their perfect adaptability to European domestic uses; and to the latter, on account of the marvellously-balanced arrangement of their colossal proportions, and the titanic power of their colouring, which in these carpets satisfy the feeling for breadth, and space, and impressiveness in State furniture, as if they were indeed made for the palaces of kings, and the temples of the gods. These Southern Indian carpets, the Masulipatam, derived from the Abbasi Persian, and the Bangalore, without a trace of Saracenic or any other modern influence, are both, relatively to their special applications, the most nobly designed of any denominations of carpets now made, while the Bangalore carpets, in my judgment, are unapproachable by the commercial carpets of any time and place.

III

The Modern History of Carpets

The restriction in Europe, since the commencement of the nineteenth century, of the use of Oriental carpets to covering floors, and of the meaning of the word carpet to floor coverings, has added to the difficulty sometimes felt in realising the indissoluble unity, in all their local diversities, of modern and ancient Oriental carpets, and other sumptuary tapestries. The processes of their manufacture, and the designs for their decoration, have always been the same; and throughout the East they have always been indifferently used, or with vague differentiation, and denomination, as curtains, hangings, coverings of all sorts, and ordinary carpets. In Northern and Western Europe they were at first almost exclusively used as table-

cloths, counterpanes, and wall hangings; and they only came into common use as floor coverings during the Protestant Reformation in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Great Britain, and that owing to the spoliation of the Catholic Roman Churches, and the scattering of their treasures, the accumulation of a millennium, among the predacious laity of the so-called reformed churches, particularly in Great Britain. In England, ordinary cloths, even Oriental tapestries, had been occasionally used from the thirteenth century, by the prelates of the Catholic Roman Church and the nobility, for floor coverings; but, down to the seventeenth century, rushes were in general use for the purpose:—

> "All herbs and flowers fragrante, fayre and swete
> Were strewed in halls, and layd under theyr fete";

while down to the middle of the eighteenth century the word carpet still meant any sort of covering, either embroidered or woven, spread on a table, sideboard, or couch, or hung from a door or window, or upon a wall, or laid down on a staircase, or along a passage or floor. Only in the early part of last century, in England, were carpets entirely withdrawn from their aboriginal indiscrimate use, and used exclusively as floor coverings; and in consequence the word carpet was reduced to its present precise interpretation: "A thick, tapestry-woven covering for floors." In the *Comedy of Errors*, IV. I, Antipholus refers to Adrian's desk—

> "That's cover'd o'er with Turkish tapestry."

Shakespeare knew of the use of carpets as a covering for floors, for in *Richard II*, III. 3, Bolingbroke speaks of marching his troops

> "Upon the grassy carpet of this plain";

that is, the plain before Flint Castle. But in *Pericles*,

IV. 1, where Mariana enters on the open space, near Tharsus, saying :—

> " I will rob Tellus of her weed,
> To strew thy green with flowers ; the yellows, blues,
> The purple violets, the marigolds,
> Shall as a carpet hang upon thy grave,"

the great dramatist had in mind the practice of hanging carpets, as has even been done in the East, on graves, rather than that of spreading them on the ground. In *Twelfth Night,* III. 4, Sir Toby Belch's protestation " He is knight . . . on carpet consideration "—refers, like the idiomatic phrase, " on the carpet " (*sur le tapis*), to the use of carpets as table-covers ; the meaning of the sentence quoted, being that Sir Andrew Ague-cheek was knighted on courtly considerations, before his Sovereign at the Council table, and not for services rendered on the field of battle. And all through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such phrases as " carpet-peer," " carpet-knight," and " carpet-squire," indicate men frequenting the tapestried chambers of kings and nobles ; " carpet-monger " always meaning a flatterer, and " carpet-trade," flattery.

From the evidence afforded by the paintings of the early Italian and German masters, we find that the Oriental carpets imported into Europe during the later centuries of the Middle Ages (A.D. 486–1499), and the earlier portion of the Renaissance (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) were, principally of both the geometrical and the degraded animal types of Central Asia, and also of the severely conventional " Tree of Life " type of Asiatic Turkey ; while we learn, from actually surviving examples, that during the later period of the Renaissance, Persian carpets also began to be imported, but of the degenerate types imposed on the manufacturers of the country, during the prolonged period of its subordination to Turan (A.D. 980–

1499), the "Dark Ages" of Persia. These are the carpets now so extravagantly prized by wealthy but tasteless collectors; exquisitely finished, often richly intertissued with gold, and nearly always gloriously coloured, but rendered offensive by the introduction of incongruous Chinese and other Tartar emblems, as also by the over-crowding of the decorative diapers and scrolls, and the feeble, helpless drawing of the whole design. Fortunately there are but few extant examples of these barbarous tapestries, which have only an antiquarian interest, notwithstanding the fabulous sums paid for them by the ignorant and ostentatious patrons of any fashionable craze. During the seventeenth century the East India Company began to import the modern Persian carpets, of the Italianesque Abbasi type; and these have ever since held the European markets equally with the Turkey carpets of Ushak and Koula. The European trade in the modern Indian carpets of Coromandel and Malabar, was wholly the creation, subsequently to the Great Exhibition of 1851, of the late Mr. Vincent Robinson, C.I.E., founder of the house of Vincent Robinson and Co., of Welbeck Street, London.

Like the ancient, the modern manufacture of sumptuary carpets in the West, originated in the imitation of the carpets of the East, and its development has always kept pace with the importations of the latter by the Saracens,[1] from Persia, Syria, and Egypt, into Sicily, Spain, and France; by the Venetians, from Central Asia, Persia, and

[1] Sarcenet is said to derive its denomination from the Saracens (Ducanga, "pannus Saracenici"; Skinner, "sericum Saracenicum"); but I cannot help suspecting that the word may be rooted rather, or at least partly, in "sarcinator" and "sarcinatrix," the "patchers" of clothes, who in the lewd and luxurious days that prepared the fall of imperial Rome, were employed in adding silken linings, edgings, and other trimmings, to the traditionary classical garments of the simpler wardrobes of regal and republican Rome. There may also be in the word an echo of the word "sarcinæ," the heavy bales in which goods of this sort were received from the East, through the mediation of the Arabs.

Turkey, into Italy and Germany ; and by the English East India Company, from Persia and India, into Western and Northern Europe.

The first weavers of tapestries known to modern Europe were the Saracens, who, introducing their looms into Spain and Southern France, transmitted to these countries the textile traditions inherited by themselves from Nineveh and Babylon, and Memphis, Thebes, and Akhmim ; and it was from France that the weaving of tapestries spread into all the countries of Western and Northern Europe.

Up to the twelfth century A.D., the decorative hangings and coverings used in the latter countries were mostly of broidered, and very rarely of inwoven work ; but after that date, owing chiefly to the example of the Saracens settled in Southern Europe, and partly through the influence of the intercourse, during the Crusades, of the Flemings with the Saracens, the loom gradually superseded the needle in the preparation of tapestries in Spain, France (Paris, Tours), Flanders (Antwerp, Arras, Bethune, Brussels, Bruges, Lille, Oudenarde, Tournay, Turcoing, Valenciennes), England, Germany (Nuremberg), and Italy. In France, the weavers of the new stuffs were at first distinguished by the names of sarrazins and sarrazenois ; and still the Spanish for the upright, rustic loom (" tela jugalis ") is " sarazinesca," and for a carpet, the Arabic word, " alhombra," the name of the (red) palace in which the people of the Iberian peninsula were first familiarised with the use of sumptuary tapestries as floor coverings. The Spanish epigrammatist Martial informs us (xiv. 150) of a parallel revolution in the ancient manufacture of textiles, due to the shifting, by Alexander the Great, of the commercial centre of the Old World, from the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, back again to the valley of the Nile ; when, gradually, the work of the Babylonian

needle was surpassed by that of the Memphian loom-comb (" pecten ") :—

> " Hæc tibi Memphitis tellus dat munera ; victa est
> Pectine Niliaco jam Babylonis acus."

The new European manufacture was carried on intermittently, and more or less obscurely, all through the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries ; when in the seventeenth century it received an immense and enduring impetus through the opening up of the trade of the East India Company with the Persian Gulf.

The French, who had initiated the industry in modern Europe, again took the lead in its revival ; and they maintained it till 1851. The English were, indeed, the first to send a dyer, Morgan Hubblethorne, in 1579, to Persia, to learn the art of dyeing and carpet weaving ; but the French were the first regularly to organise the manufacture, and that with the aid, as it strangely happened, of weavers trained in the Persian processes, and style of decoration, in England. Thus the old factories, founded at Fontainebleau (1516) by Francis I (1515–47), and at the Hôpital de la Triniti, Rue St. Denis, by Henry II (1547–59), and at Tours, by Charles IX (1560–74), were rapidly followed by the factories founded in the Faubourg St. Antoine (1597), transferred to the Louvre and the Tuileries (1603), and at the Palace of Les Tournelles, transferred to the Faubourg St. Marceau (1607) by Henry IV (1589–1610), and at La Savonnerie (1627), transferred to the Gobelins by Louis XIII (1610–43) ; whose son, Louis XIV (1643–1715), permanently established the manufacture, successively at the Gobelins (1662), at Beauvais (1664), and at Aubusson (1665). Beauvais has to the present day scrupulously observed the traditions of the decorative arts of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, thus received through Persia ; subordinating the treatment of the conventional, or semi-conventional, design to the naturally flat surface of a

carpet, and qualifying and distributing the colours, so as to secure that general diffusion of light and shade, and charming effect of neutral resplendence instinctively required in a fabric, intended, at least in modern Europe, to serve in its administration to household beauty, as a harmonising background to the furniture placed upon it. But at the Gobelins and Aubusson these immutable principles of ornamentation were from the first derided, discarded, and defied ; the floral diapers and scrolls of the Italianesque Abbasi carpets being replaced by vast scenic compositions of landscape, architecture, and moving idyllic, heroic, and mythological life, drawn in the strictest perspective, with borderings of heaped fruits and flowers in full relief ; all pictured, as in a true painting, in immense masses of strongly contrasted colour, and light and shade. The result is that these tapestries of Aubusson and the Gobelins, together with the similarly false and vulgar porcelain of St. Cloud (1688), and subsequently, of Sèvres (1756), have, through the high vogue enjoyed by them, exercised a most degrading influence on all the ornamental arts of Europe. The fictile, textile, and paper-hanging industries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland only began to slowly recover therefrom after the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The manufacture of the new tapestries in England was first systematically undertaken by James I, at Mortlake, in Surrey, under the superintendence of Sir Francis Crane ; and noble examples of his work are to be found on the Continent, as well as in the various Royal Palaces of this country, where his celebrated reproduction of the cartoons of Raphael are still preserved at Hampton Court. But the Civil War, so destructive to native art over all England and Scotland, wrecked the factory at Mortlake ; and although restored by Charles II it never recovered prosperity, and on the death of Sir Francis Crane it was finally closed. Thus the definite establishment of the

modern manufacture of tapestries and carpets in Great Britain, has to be dated from the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, when a number of French Protestant dyers and weavers found an asylum here and naturalised themselves, with their beautiful art, in various parts of the country. In 1757, the Society of Arts awarded a premium to Mr. Moore for the imitations of Turkey carpets produced at his factory in Paddington, under the direction of Mr. Parisot, a descendant of one of these French refugees.

This particular manufacture was afterwards established at Axminster, in Devonshire ; at Wilton, in Wiltshire ; at Holyrood, near Edinburgh ; and afterwards at Glasgow and Kilmarnock ; and these English and Scotch denominations of pile carpets are the finest now made, outside Turkey, and Persia, and India. All, indeed, now wanted to perfect them is to adapt the forms and colours of British flowers, and leaves, and trees, and of British national emblems, to the diapers, scrolls, and " Tree of Life " pattern, and the medallions, all in the Persian style, with which they are ornamented. It is absurd introducing the tropical palm, and pomegranate, and sacred lotus, into the decorative arts of temperate Europe, where we possess, in our own woods, the pine, oak, and mountain-ash ; and in our fields the daisy, buttercup, bluebell, fritillary, violet, eglantine, honeysuckle, columbine, golden chrysanthemum, camomile, poppy, and cornflower ; and for national floral emblems, the rose, shamrock, thistle, and leek. About the end of the eighteenth century, the Brussels denomination of carpet manufacture was introduced into Wilton, from Tournai, in Belgium ; and now flourishes at Kidderminster, in Worcestershire.

Every denomination of modern European carpets has thus been traced back to the ancient carpets of Central Asia, Persia, Western Asia, Egypt, and India ; and their affiliation would never have been lost sight of but for the repeated breaches made in the historical evolution of the

industrial arts of the Old World by the overthrow of the Western Roman Empire by the Goths and Huns, and Vandals, and of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the Sassanian Persian Empire, by the Arabs, the Turks, and Mongols ; and by the violence with which the Protestant Reformation was carried out in Germany, and Holland, and Great Britain ; and again, so far as the last-named country is concerned, by the Civil War.

If this has been made clear, there should no longer be any serious difficulty in recognising the presumptive, if not the absolute identity of the modern denominations of tapestry and pile carpets with the sumptuary tapestries of antiquity as made known to us by the monuments of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the literatures of Greece and Rome.

IV

Tapestries, etc., on the Monuments of Antiquity

Among the ruins of the great necropolis at Medinet Abu (Thebes) of the Pharaohs of the New, or Second Theban Empire (1700–1000 B.C.) one of the frescoes represents the weaving, by three men, of a patternless web, on an upright loom (*ἱστὸς ὄρθιος*,) furnished with a regular cloth-beam (*ἀντίον*, "insubulum," "tela insubulis"). At Beni Assan (Speos Artemidos) the beautiful grotto-like tombs, with proto-Doric columns of the Pharaohs of the Middle, or First Theban Empire (3100–1700 B.C.), one of the wall paintings represents a party of Egyptian women, apparently superintended by a man, filling the distaff (*ἠλακάτη*, "colus") with cotton or lint, twisting it with a spindle (*ἄτρακτος*, "fusus") into thread (*στήμων*, "stamen"), dyeing the thread, and weaving it on a simple, that is cloth-beamless upright loom ("tela jugalis");

separating, that is decussating, the threads of the warp (*ἱστός, στήμων, ἤτριον, μίτος*, "tela," "stamen") with a leash rod (*κανών*, "liciatorium," "arundo") to form the tramway ("trama," cf. "trames," "a cross-path") through which the threads of the woof (*κρόκη, πηνίον, ἐφύφη, ῥοδάνη*, "subtegmen," "subtemen," "subteximen") are being passed, and beaten home, not with the true shuttle (*κερκίς, κανών*, "alveolus") and batten (*ϛπάθη*, "spatha," "arundo"), or the comb (*κτέις*, "pecten"), but with the "radius," a very ancient textrine instrument, similar to the long weaving reed of the Hindus, and serving at once as shuttle and sley. In both of these looms the web is fastened down to a yarn-beam (*ϛκάπος*, "scapus"), instead of being kept taut by weights, usually stones (*ἄγνυθες*, "pondera"),[1] as is still done in India. Another of the Beni Hassan pictures represents a man weaving a small chequered carpet on a horizontal loom (*ἱστός*).

On the storied walls at Thebes are also to be seen representations of ships with sails, woven over the field in large chequers of green and red, and along the borders in red, yellow, and blue chevrons; of regal thrones, covered with red and blue stuffs, diapered with roundels and rosettes; of the awning of a royal pavilion, bordered with rows of the sacred basilisk (the Uræus cobra, *hadji*), alternating with rows of roundels, gradines, and "the knop and flower" pattern; and of the corslet of Ramses III (1200–1166 ? 1269–1244 B.C. ?) figured, within its four compartments formed by perpendicular bands of chevrons, and horizontal bands of "the knop and flower" pattern, with lions and camels; the latter a beast, said not to have been known, in the flesh, to the Egyptians,

[1] In Western India I have seen the horizontal loom kept stretched by swathing the web, as worked, round the weaver's body. And I have seen thread spun from cotton-wool by the simple expedient of using the left hand as the distaff, and the right as the spindle and reel.

until after the Roman occupation of their country. Herodotus (484–*circa* 424 B.C.) mentions (ii. 182) that Aahmes II (570–526 B.C.) presented a corslet of linen to the temple of Pallas at Lindus, and (iii. 47) another to the Lacedemonians. The latter, he says, "had figures of animals inwoven with its fabric (*ζῴων ἐνυφασμένων συκνῶν*), and was likewise embroided with gold and tree wool" (cotton); and he adds: "The corslet which Amasis (Aahmes II) gave to the temple of Minerva in Lindus was like unto it." Each thread of these corslets consisted of 360 threads, and the Roman Consul Mucianus told Pliny, the Naturalist (xix. 7, A.D. 23–79), that when in Rhodes he saw the corslet at Lindus, but very little then remained of it, in consequence of the injury it had suffered from the fingers of visitors anxious to verify the fact of the extraordinary complicity of its finely-twisted threads. At Sakkara the sleeve of an Egyptian dress has been found similarly ornamented with embroidery on the woven web; a characteristic Egyptian fashion of work referred to also by Lucan (A.D. 65) in his description (x. 141–3) of the robe worn by Cleopatra when she feasted Julius Cæsar in Alexandria: "Her white breast shone through the Sidonian tissue, which finely wrought with the sley of Seres, the needle of the Nile [in embroidering it], separates, loosening the warp of the extended web."

> "Candida Sidonio perlucent pectora filo,
> Quod Nilotis acus percussum pectine Serum,
> Solvit, et extenso laxavit stamina velo."

Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson mentions (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii., 172) an ancient Egyptian carpet discovered by Mr. Hay at Thebes. It has in the centre of the field the figure of a boy in white, on a green ground, surmounted by a white goose, the Egyptian hieroglyph of a boy; beyond this lozenge, the ground is yellow, variously figured in white; the whole being bound in by a border

of lines of red, white, and blue, and a triangular device, running all round the extreme edge of the carpet. Evidently it belongs to the same period (A.D. 284–640) as the carpets, and other fabrics, discovered by Maspero at Akhmim, when the native Pharaonic art of ancient Egypt had become modified by the debased Greek art of the Lower Roman (Byzantine) Empire.

There are no actual remains of ancient Assyrian and Babylonian carpets; but the slab with large rosettes sculptured in the centre, and "the knop and flower" pattern along the border, discovered by Layard, in the doorway of the palace of Sennacherrib (705–681 B.C.), on the Koyundjik mound near Mosul (Nineveh); and the door sill, with a similar border, and a centre of a cross-barred, semi-floreated, semi-geometrical diaper, found in the palace of Sargon (722–705 B.C.), on the Khorsabad mound, north of Mosul; together with the enamelled bricks found at Khorsabad, and in the palaces of Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) at Nimrud (Calah); and the decorations of the royal robes of the Chaldean King Merodach Nadin-Akhi (1100 B.C.), and of the Assyrian kings represented on the "Nineveh marbles": all these contemporary documents incontestably prove that, in design and colour, the carpets woven in Hindustan and Central Asia to-day, are the self-same carpets as were used for awnings, and floor covering, in the palaces of Sargon, Sennacherrib, Esarhaddon, and Sardanapalus, "the great and noble Asnaper" of the Book of Ezra (iv. 10). The stone slab from Koyundjik, and the door sill from Khorsabad, are palpably copied from carpets, the first, of the style of the carpets of Bangalore, and they were probably coloured like carpets; while the pectoral worn by Sardanapalus, as it is seen on the "Nineveh marbles," is an exact miniature of a Kurdish carpet with the "Tree of Life" in its field, and its border set with alternate bars and rosettes (lotus flowers); and the same difficulty has been

felt by the designer in turning the corners of the carpets with the rosettes and bars as may be still observed in Kurdish and other Eastern carpets. In short, the carpets now woven in Asia Minor, Persia, and Turkestan, and in Southern India, faithfully repeat, alike the general scheme of design, the decorative details, and the colouring of the Assyrian and Babylonian sumptuary textile of fabrics of 1000–606 B.C. (Fall of Nineveh) and 538 (Fall of Babylon).

The monuments of the Hittites in Syria and Asia Minor prove that the arts of this semi-Semiticised Tartar people were borrowed direct from those of the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, and Assyrians; while the elaborate costume of the Hittite king, or priest, sculptured, worshipping before some Earth God, on the side of a spur of the Bulgar Dagh, at Ibriz, is ornamented with the same patterns as those found on the oldest representations of textile fabrics in Chaldæa, and Assyria, and Egypt, and to this day, in Kathiawar Gujarat, Sindh, and Rajputana in India. The broad hem of this regal, or sacerdotal, robe, bears the *swastika* pattern, the predominance of which now, everywhere, marks the Turanian art of the Old World, as that of the "Tree of Life," and "the knop and flower" distinguish the Aryan.

In Anatolia the façades of the Phrygian tombs are decorated with the same patterns as are at present used on the carpets woven by the Turcoman nomads of Asia Minor and Central Asia. These tombs are in short reproductions of the wooden houses of the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor, and the façades, of the carpets they hung before them; and still in the East carpets are not only hung before the entrances of tents and other dwellings, but over the graves of the dead.

There are neither any remains nor representations of the textile fabrics of either the Phœnicians or the Jews. But we know from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin literature, that these Semitic peoples were famous, from the earliest

times, for their love of the sumptuary arts ; and that the tissues of Sidon and Tyre were always highly prized, although more perhaps for their purple dyes than their designs. Carthage, a colony of Tyre, also acquired a high reputation for its figured stuffs.

In Persia, the Egypto-Assyrian sculptures of Persepolis, and the brilliantly enamelled tiles of Susa, but repeat the story of the intimate affiliation of all the industrial arts of the Old World. The warriors painted on the glazed tiles at Susa have vestments of the patterning of the robe worn by the king, or priest, on the Hittite sculpture at Ibriz ; and an encaustic flooring, with its chequered field, and border of " the knop and flower " pattern, cannot be discriminated in design from the large Mahratta *satranjis* used, during the early decades of the last century, in the palaces of the Peshwas at Poona, in Western India. Persia received all her arts from Egypt, from Assyria and Babylonia, and from Lydia and Greece ; but through her predominant position in Anterior Asia, she powerfully reacted on these countries all through the Achæmenian (559–331 B.C.), Parthian (226 B.C.–A.D. 226), and Sassanian (A.D. 226–651) periods ; and thus became one of the principal agencies in the evolution of the Byzantine art (sixth to twelfth centuries A.D.) of the Lower Roman Empire, and of the Saracenic art (seventh to tenth century A.D.) of Islam.

As would be anticipated from their natural good taste, and love of symmetry and proportion in all things, the Greeks have left no detailed illustrations of sumptuary textile fabrics among the remains of their plastic and glyptic arts, while the delineation of them is less definite than might have been expected even in their fictile art, fraught as this is with the reality of their daily lives. There is a solitary engraved gem, now in the Berlin Antiquarian Museum, and figured in King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, xix. 8, representing Athene in the act of transforming Arachne into a spider, the loom here being a domestic form of the

simple "tela jugalis." The "tela insubulis" in its crudest and most rustic form, is represented on a vase of the fifth century B.C., found in 1888, on the site of the Kabeirion at Thebes, and now in the British Museum; and on the vase of the same date, purchased for the Oxford Museum, from the Van Branteghem Collection; both being illustrated in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vol. xiii., part i., 1892–3). On an Attic vase of the fifth century B.C., a Greek lady is represented spinning thread; and on another of the same date, threading a shuttle; while on the Attic vase of the same period, found at Chiusi, and now in the Berlin Antiquarian Museum, is the famous representation of Penelope sitting beside her loom, with Telemachus standing before her. The loom is a complicated expansion of the "tela insubulis"; the web on it showing a richly inwoven pattern of winged beasts and winged men, of the Egypto-Mesopotamian type, with here a star, and there a *swastika*, set before them; and a border of the familiar Egyptian frets and stripes.

An Attic vase of the fifth century B.C., now in the Campanari Collection, represents two Greek women folding up clothes, either after having woven or washed them. The large Attic vase, found at Cervetri, and now in the Vienna Museum, is painted with the scene of Priam's visit to the tent of Achilles, the sumptuary coverings of the couch on which Achilles reclines, and the bales of carpets offered to him by Priam, being all of the Egyptian patterns of the monuments at Medinet Abu, Luxor, and Karnak. These are the only classical illustrations known to me of coverlets and carpets; other representations of the textile manufactures of the Greeks and Romans being all of more or less elaborately ornamented articles of male and female attire. But mention may be made of the painting of Chryse propitiating Apollo, on an Italic vase in the Jatta Collection at Rome; of Thamyris and the Muses, on the Attic wine jar in the same collection; of the heroes in Hades,

on an Italic vase, now in the old Pinakothek, Munich ; and of warriors arming and mustering for battle on an Attic drinking cup of the fifth century B.C., in the Museum of Art and Industry at Vienna ; of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, by Clytias and Ergotimus, on the celebrated François vase ; of the Judgment of Paris, on the Attic vase, figured in the *Romische Mittheilungen*, vol. ii., of 1887 ; of the Assembly of the Gods, by Oltos and Euxitheos, on an Attic vase of the fifth century, now in the Corneto Museum ; of Alcmene and Megara, by Assteas, on an Italic vase of the fourth century B.C., now in Madrid ; and of Leda and the Dioscuri, by Exekias, on an Attic vase of the sixth century B.C., now in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome. All these fictile paintings prove that the costumes worn by the Greeks, and Italiots, and Thracians, and Lydians of the sixth to the third century B.C., were not only similar in their general character, but absolutely identical in their patternings, with the gay and costly costumes represented on the monuments of the Egyptians, Chaldæans, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians from the earliest to the latest dates of their history ; and also with those of India, and the greater part of Anterior Asia and Northern Africa to the present day.

In Italy, there is at Pompeii a fresco of the imperial Roman period, representing an awning, with alternated dolphins and sea-horses careering along the limits of the field, and a tessellated pattern on the heavily-fringed border.

The Christian period of the stromaturgic arts is beyond the scope of this retrospect of their history, as recorded on the monuments of antiquity ; but in turning from the latter I must mention the mosaic at Ravenna, in the church of Sant' Apollinare (nell à Citta) built in the sixth century by Theodoric the Great (A.D. 493–556), representing the palace of the Ostrogothic king ; because its

corridors are hung with curtains in the very same fashion as was followed during the picturesque times of Peishwas in draping the colonnades, forming the aisles, of the old Mahratta palace at Poona,[1] and, as happens, the curtains of Theodoric at Ravenna, and of Baji Rao at Poona, were covered with a similar floral diaper.

V

Tapestries in Ancient Literature

It would be impossible to quote, within the space at my disposal, all the literary allusions and references of the ancients to tapestries, and under this head I must confine myself to a summary review of the more remarkable passages, relating to them, to be found in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writers.

Beginning with the Bible, we find in the Pentateuch, chapters xxvi.–viii., xxxv.–vi., and xxxviii.–xl. of the Book of Exodus, devoted to a minute working specification of the

[1] The destruction of this palace by fire in 1827 will never cease to be regretted by the student of the history of art in India, for like the still standing temple of Vishnu, in his avatar of Rama, on the island of Rameswaram, it was a striking example of the survival of the sumptuous building style of Mesopotamia in India down to dates immediately preceding the English conquest of the country. It was commenced by Baji Rao I, the second Peshwa (1720–1740), and completed by his successor Balaji Baji Rao (1740–1761); and was built in the Shanvar ward, because Baji Rao I happening one day to see a hare drive a dog off the spot, thought that a palace built there would never be taken by the Mo(n)gols of Delhi. It was seven stories high, the seventh story being the Asmani Mahal, or Palace of the Firmament, erected by Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa (1795–1818), whose adopted son was the infamous Nana Sahib. It was divided into four larger and three smaller courts, and contained seven Divan Khanas or reception halls. The latter each consisted of a long hall with lateral corridors, separated from the body of the hall by richly carved pillars. The ceilings were covered with beautiful carving in wood, and the walls were all painted with scenes from the Itihasas and Puranas in enamelled colours and gold. It was from the sixth story of this palace that Madhu Rao Narayana, the fifth Peshwa (1771–1795) threw himself into the fountain in the court below, sustaining such injuries that he died on the following day.

ritualistic furniture of the Tabernacle or Tent of Javeh, and of the vestments of the ministering Cohen and Levites. In xxvi. 1, we are told that the ten lateral curtains of the Tabernacle were " of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubims of cunning work " ; in v. 31, that the veil (καταπέτασμα) of the Holy of Holies was " of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work, with cherubims embroidered thereon " ; in v. 36, that the outer veil (κάλυμμα), or hanging, at the entrance into the Tent, was " of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework " ; and in xxvii. 16, that the hanging " of the gate of the court " of the sacred Tent was coloured in the same manner, and similarly " wrought with needlework." In II. Kings xxiii. 7, Josiah is recorded to have destroyed the houses that were by the House [the temple of Solomon] of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the Grove (*Asherah*), i.e. " the Tree of Life " symbol, worshipped by those, mentioned in v. 5, " that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to all the host of heaven." In the Book of Esther (*circa* 450 B.C.), i. 6, we read (Authorised Version) of " the white, green, and blue hangings " of the King's palace at Shushan (Susa, now Shuster). But the Hebrew word, *karpas* (here translated " green "), is the Sanskrit word for cotton (*karpasa*, κάρπασος, carbasus) ; and the passage really refers to the well-known blue-striped cotton carpets of India, called *daris* (literally—twillo, i.e. δί-μιτοι, dimities) " door "-mats, and *satranjis*, literally—" four-colans." In Psalm civ. 1, 2, the prophet Ezra, or Nehemiah, apostrophises the Creator in the sublime words : " Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment : Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain." In Proverbs vii. 16, King Solomon, in his graphic apologue of the cunning woman and the desperately simple young man of the period, describes the former as saying : " I have

decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt"; or, as the Revised Version has it: "I have spread my couch with carpets of tapestry, with striped cloths of the yarn of Egypt." And again, in xxxi. 22, 24, in his antithetical picture of the points and properties of a good wife, he says, amongst other things in her praise: "She maketh for herself coverings [R.V., carpets] of tapestry; her clothing is silk [R.V., fine linen] and purple." "She maketh fine linen [the R.V. adds—garments] and selleth them, and delivereth girdles unto the merchant [literally, the Canaanite, i.e. the Phœnician]." In this passage the Hebrew word, rendered fine linen, is *sadin*, which is the Greek σινδών—that is "Indian"—muslin. In the Song of Solomon, the bride, in i. 5, speaks of herself: "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon"; while in iii. 10, the chariot of Solomon is described as covered with purple; like the "serica carpenta" (Propertius, IV. viii. 23) of the Romans; and the silver-gilt, and silk-canopied and curtained, gay *eka* of the Hindus.

Finally, in the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel (*circa* 596–74 B.C.), in xxvii. 20, it is said of the rich and universal trade of Tyre: "Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes [cloths] for chariots." Some have translated this as "magnificent carpets for chariots." It is indifferent which translation is the closer to the original Hebrew, for either equally indicate the sumptuary tapestries for which India, and Irak Arabi, have ever been renowned. In vv. 23, 24, Haran and Canneh, and Eden and Sheba, Asshur and Chilmad, are enumerated as trading with Tyre "in all sorts of [excellent] things; in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar." All the commentaries are agreed that the cotton, woollen, and silken stuffs of ancient India, in which the Arabians traded with the West, by

way of the Persian Gulf, and Aden and the Red Sea, are here meant; and the "cedar boxes" were probably deodar cases, containing woollen stuffs, similar to the present Cashmere shawls; and the blue clothes, or "blue foldings," as the marginal version has it, were possibly the indigo-dyed vestments still made upon the loom, without seam, and still woven in one piece, all over India.

There is no stronger proof of the personality of Homer, and, I would add of a Semitic strain in his Mœonian blood, than his exceptional, and among Hellenic writers, quite extraordinary feeling for the beauty of sumptuary objects of every sort, and particularly textile fabrics; which he was the first, by the force of his sympathetic genius, to invest, and for all time, with the spiritual fascination of the highest poetry. He sings their praises in almost every book of the Iliad and Odyssey; and all I can do here is to indicate the passages in which he specifically refers to tapestries, under the denomination of *τάπης*, and then to quote some of his descriptions of the manner in which textile fabrics generally were ornamented in his time. The textile denomination *ῥῆγος*, a "rug," "carpet," or "covering," frequently occurs in the Iliad or Odyssey, and generally with the qualification *καλός*, "beautiful"; but it cannot be identical with any true variety of sumptuary tapestry, and was probably a fabric of loosely woven, or possibly felted wool, owing its beauty to its softness, and the bright colour in which it was often dyed.

In the Iliad, ix. 200, the heralds of Agamemnon sit "upon couches and purple coverlets" (*τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισιν*); in x. 156, Diomed sleeps outside his tent, "but under his head a splendid tapestry (*τάπησ φαεινός*) was spread"; in xvi. 224, among the contents of the chest presented to Achilles, by Thetis, are expressly mentioned, "pile carpets" (*οὔλων τε ταπήτων*); and in xxiv. 230, among the presents taken by Priam to Achilles,

for the ransom of the body of Hector, were "twelve carpets" (Δώδεκα δὲ τάπητας).

In the Odyssey, iv. 124, Alcippe brings Helen "tapestry of soft wool" (τάπητα μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο); while in lines 297–8 of the same book, Helen spreads on the couches, on which Nestor and Telemachus are to sleep, "beautiful (purple) blankets (ῥήγεα καλά), with tapestry (τάπητας) on the top of them" as a counterpane; in vii. 337, Aerte directs the bed of Ulysses to be made up in the same way, and in the very words used in Book iv. 298; and in x. 12, the sons of Æolus are described as sleeping, "with their chaste wives, on tapestry" (ἔν τε τάπησι), as the humbler classes of the natives of India still sleep in the verandah of their master's house, with their wives, on carpets, unrolled for the purpose every night, and rolled up again every morning, and laid aside during the day.

As to the textile designs of the Homeric period, in the Iliad iii. 125–7, Helen is found, by Isis, "weaving a great web (μέγαν ἱστὸν) of twilled purple (Δίπλακα πορφυρέην), wrought with the many woes of both the horse-taming Trojans, and the bronze-armoured Greeks, that, on her account, they had suffered at the hands of Ares"; in vi. 289–94, Hecuba descending to her fragrant chamber, where "were her variously embroidered robes (πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι), the work of Sidonian women," takes one of these, "the most beautiful for its variegated embroidery (Ὃς κάλιστλος ἔην ποικίλμασιν), and the largest, and which glittered like a star," and hastens with it to the temple of Athene, to place it, as an act of propitiation, on the lap of the blue-eyed goddess; in xiv. 178–85, Heré folds around her "an ambrosial robe, wrought by Athene in needlework, with much varied decoration (δαίδαλα πολλά) and girding herself" with a zone, adorned with a hundred fringes, throws over all "a beautiful veil, bright as the sun"; and in xxii. 440–1, Andromache, all unconscious of the death of Hector, is

described as weaving a web (*ἱστὸν ὕφαινε*), of twilled purple, and embroidered with a diaper of flowers (*ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσεν*). In the Odyssey, xv. 417–18, there is a reference to a Phœnician woman "skilled in (weaving) resplendent tapestries," "in resplendent embroideries" (*ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυῖα*); while in Book xxi. lines 225–33, is the description of the cloak of Ulysses :—

"The god-like Ulysses had a cloak of twilled purple, with a clasp of gold, double buckled. It was embroided on the front, where a dog, panting with joy, held down, with its fore feet, a spotted fawn; and all wondered to see how, being but wrought in gold thread, the one gloated over his prey, and the other, eager to escape, struggled convulsively with his feet. The beautiful garment fitted to his body, like its slender skin to an onion—so soft was it, and it shone like the sun; and the women all feasted their eyes upon it."

Æschylus (525–456 B.C.) in *Prometheus vinctus*, 24, speaks of "night in spangled robe" (*ἡ ποικιλείμων νύξ*); in *The Persians* (836, 821), of the tattered condition of the "embroidered robes" (*ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων*) of Xerxes; in *Agamemnon* (909, 864), of strewing the path of the returning hero "with carpets" (*πετάσμασιν*); (910, 865) of "a purple-strewn path" (*πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος*); (923, 878) of walking on "embroidered fineries" (*ἐν ποικίλοις κάλλεσιν*); (926, 881) of "carpetings and embroideries" (*ποδοψήστρων καὶ τῶν ποικίλων*); and again (957, 912), of "treading on purple" (*πορφύρας πατῶν*); in the *Choephori* (229–30, 225–6), of the "woven robe" (*ὕφασμα*) of Orestes, the work of Electra's hand, "the strokes of her batten, (*σπάθης τε πληγάς*) and the representations of wild beasts" (*θηρίων γραφήν*); and (1011, 1000), of the blood of Agamemnon staining "the many colours of his embroidered (robe)" (*πολλὰς βαφὰς τοῦ*

ποικίλματος); and finally in *The Suppliants* (277–83, 267–73), he makes Pelagus address the Chorus: "It is incredible what you relate, O strangers, that you are Argives; you are more like Lybian women, and by no means resemble natives of my country. The Nile might have nourished you, and the Egyptian decoration (Κύπριος χαρακτήρ, 'Cyprian' *motifs*, i.e. 'the knop and flower' pattern), on your chintzed raiment (τ' ἐν γυναικείοις τύποις) shows that it was woven by male weavers"[1] (εἰκὼς πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων).

Sophocles (496–405 B.C.), in *Œdipus Coloneus* (340–4, 337–41), seems also to share this belief of the Greeks, that the weaving in ancient Egypt, was all done by the men, making Œdipus remark of his sons: "In the nature and breeding of their lives, they are in everything like to the people of Egypt, for there the men sit indoors working at the loom, while the women procure the means of support out of doors." Herodotus, ii. 35, says the same thing, but we now know, from the monuments, that there were female weavers in ancient Egypt, as well as male.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.), in *Hecuba*, 466–74, refers to the representations in embroidery, on the saffron robe, or veil (ἐν κροκέῳ πέπλῳ), carried at the Panathenaic festival, of "the steeds harnessed to the car of Pallas, and of the Titans whom Zeus sends to eternal rest with his flaming lightnings"; in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 73–4, to Paris, coming from Phrygia to Lacedemon, "in flowery garments, glittering with gold, barbarian fineries" (ἀνθηρὸς μὲν εἱμάτων στολῇ χρυσῷ τε λαμπρὸς βαρβάρῳ χλιδήματι); in *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 222–4, once more to the robe, or veil, which was the great feature of the

[1] This is an exegetical—and paraphrastic—translation of a difficult passage, adopted by me in accommodation to, and emphasis of, my conviction that the quotation affords an indication of a contemporary knowledge of the connection between the artistic culture and general civilisation of Cyprus and Egypt that has been fully demonstrated by modern archæological research.

annual[1] Panathenaic festival, " adorned in the sweetly humming loom, with the image of Pallas Athene, and of the Titans " ; and 814–16, to a deftly-wrought web: representing the Argonautic Expedition, and another, " the turning away of the sun " ; in *The Troades*, 991–2, to Paris, " radiant in barbarian vesture and gold " (*βαρβάροις ἐσθήμασι χρυσῷ τε λαμπρόν*) ; in *Ion*, 506, to " woven pictures " (*κερκίσιν*) ; and 1141–65, to the " sacred tapestries " (*ὑφασμαθ' ἱερὰ*) of Delphi, wherewith Ion covered the banqueting tent pitched by him below the crags of Parnassus. I must give the description Euripides has left of them, in full :—

" First, he (Ion) spreads over the roof a double peplum (robe or veil), the gift of the son of Zeus, which Heracles brought to the God, the spoil of the Amazons. And these woven figures were painted on the texture : Ouranos collecting the stars in the circle of ether ; Helios driving his horses down to the waning light of day, drawing with him the lambent light of Hesperos ; and black-robed Night, driving her two-horsed chariot, the stars following the Goddess ; the Pleiades travelling through the mid air ; and sword-bearing Orion. Above was Arctos, turning round the Golden Pole ; and the circle of the full Moon (the measurer of the Months), darting its rays ; and below, the Hyades, the most kenspeckle of signs for sailors ; and Eos, chasing away the stars. And upon the walls he placed other weavings of the barbarians (*βαρβάρων ὑφάσματα*), in their well-rowed ships, drawn up in array against the Greeks ; and savage men, and huntings on horseback, and the chase after stags and fierce lions. And at the entrance into the tent, near by his daughters, was Cecrops, rolling in his dragon folds—the gift of some Athenian."

And again in the same tragedy of *Ion*, 1417–25,

[1] Some say quadrennial.

Euripides refers to a web with a Gorgon in the centre, fringed with serpents, like the ægis (literally the "goat" skin) of Pallas Athene; which when shown to Creusa she salutes with the exclamation: "O ancient virgin-labour of my loom" (ὦ χρόνιον ἱστῶν παρθένευμα τῶν ἐμῶν); and in line 1491, describes "the plying of my shuttle" (κερκίδος ἐμᾶς πλάνους). In *Andromache*, 148, he refers to Hermione's vesture of "embroidered robes" (ποικίλων πέπλων); and in *Electra*, 314, and 1000–1, to "Phrygian spoils," i.e. embroideries (Φρυγίοισιν and σκύλοισι Φρυγίοις); while in lines 454–78, he gives a description of the ornamentation of the shield, helmet, and cuirass of Achilles, recalling that given by him of the sacred tapestries of Delphi, in *Ion*.

Aristophanes (*circa* 444–380, 450–385 B.C.) has numerous references to spinning and weaving, particularly in *Lysistrata*, and also to the ordinary plain saffron[1] coloured clothing of the Greek women of his time, and a few to sumptuary articles of attire, such as the "Cimmerian robe," and the "Persica,"[2] or Persian slipper; but his only references to tapestries of any kind are in *Lysistrata*, 933–5, where Myrrhina tells Cinesias he has not a "counterpane" (σισύραν), and he, as she runs off for one, mutters: "The women will kill me with bedclothes" (στρώματα); and in *The Frogs*, 542, where Bacchus speaks of a slave lying on Milesian bedclothes (στρώμασιν Μιλησίοις).

Theocritus (third century B.C.), also, while full of the subject of spinning, has little to say of sumptuary tapestries. In Idyll xv. 80–7, Gorgo directs the attention of Praxinoe to some charming embroideries (τὰ ποικίλα), on which the latter exclaims: "O Athene! what woman could have wrought, and what designer (ζῳογράφοι) drawn them? How true to nature the figures stand, and move

[1] Saffron was the favourite colour of Greeks, purple of the Romans, red of the Gauls.

[2] Compare persica, the peach, i.e. Persian fruit.

about, like living creatures, not woven patterns. And Adonis himself, how beautiful, reclining on his silver couch, in the first bloom of manhood; thrice beloved Adonis, Adonis beloved even in death!" And in the immediately following Psalm of Adonis occurs the famous lines: "O, the purple coverlets (πορφύρεοι δε τάπητες) more soft than sleep! (μαλακώτεροι ὕπνω) [cf. Virgil, *Eclogue*, vii. 45]. So Miletus will say, and the shepherds of Samos."

Polybius (204–122 B.C.), in the account he gives (xxxi. 3, 10) of the great festivities held at Daphne, by Antiochus Epiphanes (165 B.C.), states that the "Companion Cavalry," and the cavalry corps of "the King's Friends," and the "Cavalry of the Guard," and the "Cataphract Cavalry" who took part in the celebration, to the number of 4,500, all wore "purple overcoats" (πορφυρᾶς ἐφαπτίδας), in many cases embroidered "with gold, and figures of animals" (διαχρύσους καὶ ζωωτάς). This statement, we shall presently note, is repeated by Athenæus.

Diodorus Siculus (*circa* 90 B.C.–A.D. 14) is more barren than Herodotus of notices of sumptuary tissues; but his description, Book II., of the scenes depicted on the glazed tiling of the circular wall of the royal palace at Babylon is worth quoting, as indicating one of the sources in which the scenic tapestries of the East originated:—"On this wall, and on its towers, were represented every kind of living creatures, painted in the most brilliant colours; especially huntings of all sorts of wild beasts, each scene four cubits high, and upwards. Among them, was one of Semiramis on horseback, piercing a panther with an arrow, and close by, her husband, Ninus, attacking a lion with his lance." The historian adds that on the "burnt brick walls" of another palace, "on the other side of the river," there were likewise represented armies drawn up in battle array, and divers huntings, to the great diversion and delight of the beholders.

Josephus (A.D. 37–100) in the *Antiquities of the Jews*,

III. vi. 4 (III. ii. 22–6), writes :—"This Veil of the Holy of Holies was very ornamental, being embroidered with every sort of flower the earth produces ; and there was woven into it every variety of form that might be ornamental, excepting the forms of animals" ; and in the *Wars of the Jews*, v. v. 4 (v. iv. 16–26) :—

"The Veil of the Holy of Holies was a Babylonian curtain embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet and purple, and of a contexture truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical meaning, but was an image of the universe ; for the scarlet enigmatically indicated fire ; the flax, earth ; the blue, air ; and the purple, water. The fire and air having in their colours the suggestion of their significance ; but the fine flax and purple having, in their origin in the earth and the sea, respectively, the source of their symbolism. The curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was of mystery in the heavens, excepting the representation of the twelve signs (of the Zodiac) by living creatures."

Plutarchus (*circa* A.D. b. 41–51, d. 120), in his *Themistocles*, compares the conversation of a man to "embroidered tapestry (*ποικίλοις στρώμασιν*) which, when stretched out, showed its patterns, but when folded up, they are hidden and lost."

Arrian (*circa* A.D. 90–170), in his *Expedition of Alexander*, vi. 29, describing the tomb of Cyrus, at Pasargadæ, writes :—"In the building was a golden coffin, wherein the body of Cyrus had been buried, and by the side of the coffin a couch, the feet of which were of gold, wrought with the hammer. A carpet of Babylonian tapestry (*τάπητα ἐπιβλημάτων* Βαβυλωνίων), with purple rugs (*καυνάκας πορφυροῦς*) were laid upon it, also a Median coat with sleeves, and other tunics of Babylonian manufacture" (*τῆς* Βαβυλωνίου *ἐργασίας*).

Pausanias (*circa* A.D. 138–180), in *Laconica*, xvi., tells us that every year the women wove a garment for the Apollo at Amyclæ, and called the place, in which they wove it, Chiton; in *Eliaca*, xi., that the sandals of the Phidian Zeus at Olympia, and the robe of the god, were of gold, and that on the latter various animals were represented, and of flowers, the lily (*ζώδιά τε καί τῶν ἀνθέων τὰ κρίνα*); adding in chapter xii. that Antiochus IV (174–64 B.C.) dedicated a veil, adorned with Assyrian weaving (*ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις*), and Phœnician purple, to the Temple of Olympian Zeus. In chapter xvi. he tells us that every year, sixteen women of Elis wove a veil for the temple of Heré there, and held sports in her honour; adding in *Posterior Eliaca*, xxiv., that in the forum of the city was a building called the "Sixteen Women," where they wove the veil of Heré: and in *Arcadica*, v., he refers to the veil which Laodice, the daughter of Agapenor, sent to Tegea, for the temple of Pallas Alea.

Athenæus of Naucratis (*circa* A.D. 192–230), like the Latin writer Pliny, treats the subject systematically, and even more copiously than Homer, and I shall, therefore, only note those passages in *The Deipnosophists*, or "Banquets of the Learned," wherein he either indicates the designs of the sumptuary tapestries of the period, or expressly discriminates them as coverings for the floor, or carpets proper, as we understand the word. In Book v. xxii. he states that the soldiers present at an entertainment given by Antiochus Epiphanes, wore purple cloaks, and many had them "embroidered with gold, or with figures of living animals" (*πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαχρύσους καὶ ζωωτάς*); in c. xxvi. that the king placed under the golden couches, used at the feast, "carpets of sea purple, the same on both sides" (*ἀμφίταποι ἁλουργεῖς*); and that on the couches were "embroidered rugs" (*περιστρώματα ποικίλα*); and that all the centre space, where the guests

walked, was covered with "thin Persian rugs" (Ψιλαὶ δὲ Περσικαὶ) having most accurate representations of animals embroidered on them (ἀκριβῆ τὴν εὐγραμμίαν τῶν ἐνυφασμένων ἔχουσαι ζωδίων); and in c. xxvii. that the images of Victory borne in the Dionysiac procession at the same celebration, were clad in tunics embroidered with figures of animals (ζωωτοὺς ἐνδεδυκυῖαι χιτῶνας); in Book XI. lxvii. that a young Paphian spread his couch with "a Sardian piled carpet" (Σαρδιανῇ ψιλοτάπιδι); in Book XI. lv. he quotes some verses from Hipparchus, referring to "a delightfully embroidered Persian carpet (ἤ δαπίδιον ἓν ἀγαπητὸν ποικίλον) having some Persian figures, and preposterous shapes of Persian griffins, and such-like beasts worked on it" (Πέρσας ἔχον καὶ γρῦπας ἐξώλεις τινὰς τῶν Περσικῶν); in Book XII. viii. he again mentions "Sardian pile carpets" (ψιλοταπίδων Σαρδιανῶν); in c. xxiv. he refers to "the flowery robes" (στολὰς μὲν ἀνθινὰς) of the Iapygians; in c. xxv. to "the embroidered tunics" (ἀνθινοὺς χιτῶνας) of the Sybarites; in c. xxix. to the Persian stuff called "actæa," all over-diapered with "golden millet seed" (δὲ χρυσοῖς κέγχροις); in c. xl. to a Phrygian robe embroidered with flowers (ἀνθινὴν ἐσθῆτα); and in c. l. he gives his well-known description of the Chlamys of Demetrius: "It was of a brilliant tawny colour, with a representation of the heavens woven on it, the stars and the twelve signs of the Zodiac being all wrought in gold." And in c. liv. he states that at the extraordinary connubial entertainment given by Alexander the Great, when he took Darius prisoner, the tents in which it was held were furnished in the most magnificent manner, "with sumptuous garments and cloths" (ἱματίοις τε καὶ ὀθονίοις πολυτελέσιν) for the guests, and were spread with cloths of purple and scarlet interwoven with gold (πορφυροῖς καὶ φοινικοῖς χρυσοϋφέσι); and that the pillars supporting the tents were hung about with "costly curtains embroidered with figures of animals" (πολυτελεῖς ζωωτοὶ καὶ διάχρυσοι).

Philostratus (*circa* A.D. 217), the author of *Imagines*, in his life of Apollonius of Tyana, states, i. 25, that the latter [*obit.* A.D. 97], when in Babylon, where he stayed for some months, described the vestibule, rooms, and halls, and corridors of the " royal palace " there as having some work with silver, and some with gold wrought curtains . . . the subjects depicted on these tapestries being illustrative of the Hellenic myths (and apparently the Persian invasion of Greece), for " one could see the Hellespont bridged, and Athos pierced, and Athens occupied." He is the last Greek writer that needs be cited here.

Coming to the Latin writers, Plautus (*circa* 254–184 B.C.), in *Mercator*, i. 1, where Charinus states that his father Demipho " had had a sight of the peplum " (spectavisset peplum), alludes to the great Panatheniac Festival, at which the saffron-coloured veil, or robe[1] woven by the noblest maidens of " the City of the Violet Crown," was hung from the mast of a ship on wheels, and so borne in triumph, up the Acropolis, to the Temple of Athene Polias.[2] In *Aulularia*, iii. 10 (5), he explicitly mentions, through the mouth of Megadorus, a Phrygio, or " embroiderer "; and the patagiarii, or "dealers in figured tunics for females," that is the tunic ornamented round the neck, and down the front, with a purple, or golden, or embroidered edging (patagium), pretty much in the way the tunic for males among the Romans was bordered with the clavus. In *Menæchmi*, ii. 4 (ii. 4) he again mentions a Phrygio, or " embroiderer." In *Pseudolus*, i. 2, he makes Ballio threaten his slaves with so sound a hiding that not even Campanian coverlets are broidered so well, nor purple Alexandrian carpets, figured with beasts :—

> " Ut ne peristromata quidem æque picta sint Campanica,
> Neque Alexandrina beluata conchyliata tapetia."

Finally in *Stichus*, ii. 3, Pinacium enumerates among

[1] See above Euripides, in *Hecuba*, and in *Iphigenia in Tauris*, p. 265.
[2] Cf. Iliad, ii. 546–51, and Odyssey, vii. 81.

the purchases of Epignomus, Babylonian coverlets and needle-worked carpets :—

"Tum Babylonica peristromata consutaque tapetia."

Lucretius (95 to *circa* 52 B.C.), in Book IV, lines 75–6, a passage of great interest to the scientific photographer, speaks of the actors and audience in large theatres being coloured by the yellow, and red, and dark blue awnings spread over them :—

"Et volgo faciunt id lutea, russaque vela,
Et ferrugina."

Again, in line 1029, he refers to Babylonian coverlets of surpassing splendour :—

"Cum Babylonica magnifico spendore rigantur" ;

and elsewhere to estates being "wasted on," literally "turned into Babylonian textures" :—

"Babylonica fiunt."

Catullus (87 to *circa* 47 B.C.), in his poem on *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, devotes lines 50–266 to a minute description of the coverlet of their nuptial couch, wrought in threads of deftest sleight with the figures of the men of yore and their heroic deeds :—

"Hæc vestis priscis hominum variata figuris,
Heroum mira virtutes indicat arte."

With wondrous art it depicted the tragic story of Theseus and Ariadne, and thus splendidly decorated, the spreading coverlet enfolded the couch with its drapery :—

"Talibus amplifice vestis decorata figuris,
Pulvinar complexa suo velabat amictu."

It was, in short, a curtain like the *purda*, or veil used among the natives of India, to screen the women of a family from the sight of the men. After the young men of Thessaly had satisfied themselves with gazing on it, they made room for the gods :—

"Quæ postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes
Expleta est, sanctis cœpit decedere Divis."

Virgil, 70–19 B.C., in *Georgics*, iii. 25, sings of British captives at a theatre, supporting an awning inwoven with the scene of their own defeat :—

" Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni."

In *Æneid*, i. 697, he seats Dido on a throne, under " a superb awning " (aulæis superbis). In iii. line 467, among the presents of Helenus to Æneas, he names a corslet, wrought as a sort of chain armour, in " gold of triple thrummed " (auroque trilicem, cf. v. 259, and vii. 639, and xii. 375) ; and in lines 483–5 of the same Book, Andromache brings forth for Ascanius vestments wrought in figures of gold, a Phrygian chlamys, and other labours of the loom :—

" Fert picturatas auri subtemine vestes,
Et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem . . .
Textilibusque onerat donis. . . ."

In iv. 137, Dido appears attired in a Sidonian chlamys (chiton), with an embroidered border :—

" Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo."

In vii. 277, the swift horses of the Trojans are caparisoned with purple and embroidered tapestry :—

" Instratos ostro alipedes, pictisque tapetis."

In viii. 659–61, he describes the Gauls as golden-haired, their vestments of gold, and shining in their gold " striped " (virgatus) shags, and their white necks hung with (torques of) gold :—

" Aurea cæsaries ollis, atque aurea vestis ;
Virgatis lucent sagulis ; tum lactea colla
Auro innectuntur."

And in ix. 325–6, he represents Rhames, at the moment Nisus slaughters him, as lying on high-raised carpets, snoring out the night :—

" qui forte tapetibus altis
Exstructus toto proflabat pectore somnum."

Horace, 65–8 B.C., in his *Satires*, ii. 4, 83–4, exclaims :

"What, should you sweep mosaic pavements with a filthy palm broom, and throw Tyrian carpets over your unwashed couch!"

> "Ten' lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
> Et Tyrias dare circum inluta toralia vestes":

and in his *Epistles*, i. 5, 23–4, in inviting Torquatus to dinner, informs him, that there shall be a clean carpet for his couch, and a clean napkin for his hands:—

> "Ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
> Corruget nares."

Tibullus, 54–18 B.C., in I. i. 65 (I. ii. 77–8) apostrophising Delia, protests that without her favouring love, in vain is it to lie on a Tyrian couch, and in vain are soft down and richly dyed "tapestry" (stragula) to induce sleep:—

> "Nam neque tum plumæ, nec stragula picta soporem
> Nec sonitus placidæ ducere possit aquae."

Propertius, *circa* 51 B.C., in I. xiv. 19–22 sings of Venus that, she scruples not to enter a house furnished with Arabian[1] [i.e. Indian] luxury, nor fears to invade a

[1] Compare Propertius, II. i. 15, of *Cynthia*:—"Nec si qua Arabio lucet bombyce puella." Here Arabia may be China or India; but whether the silk was from India or China, or came by way of Egypt ["Indici donum maris"] or Persia, it was brought into the marts of the Eastern Mediterranean through the intermediation of the Arabs. Similarly the Parthia of the Latin writers often includes Persia; and their Serica, Central Asia; and India, China; their geography of all the Eastern countries to which the arms, and direct commerce, of Rome had not extended being extremely vague and vagrant. The jessamines are as characteristic of India as the tiger, the peacock, and the cobra, but they are popularly known in Europe, one as the Arabian jessamine, or the Tuscan, and another again as the Arabian, and a third as the American myrtle, the Azorean jessamine, and the Caffrarian jessamine. Thus not one of them is known as the Indian jessamine, and simply because they were introduced at different periods into Europe through the countries after which they are specifically named. The botanical name of the genus is the Latinised form of the Arabic name, *yasmin*, of one of the Indian species. Sir Thomas Browne gives Cambay as a synonym of the American myrtle, but he has no thought, as one might suppose, of its coming from Cambay in Western India, far less of this seeming place-name of it being a corruption of its Indian name *chambali*. These are not the only instances of how in her natural history, her folklore, and arts, and philosophy, India has been inadvertently robbed of some of her chiefest glories.

couch of Tyrian dye ; and asks Tullus what relief do silken garments of varied tissue afford :—

> " Illa neque Arabium metuit transcendere limen :
> Nec timet ostrino, Tulle, subire toro !
> . . . .
> Quid relevant variis Serica textilibus."

In II. xiii. 22 (III. xiii. b 22) he prays that when dead his bier may not be of ivory, nor his body laid on a luxuriously covered couch :—

> " Nec sit in Attalico mors mea nixa toro " :

and in xxxii. 12–13 (III. xxxii. 11–12) in imploring Cynthia not to give up so much time to her devotions, and to afford him some of her company, he adds, despitefully, that perhaps Pompey's portico, with its shadowing columns, and magnificently decorated purple awnings, palls upon her :—

> " Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
> Porticus aulæis nobilis Attalicis."

In III. vii. 49–50 (IV. vii.) he describes his young friend Pætus, as lying in a chamber of cedar, or Orician terebinth, his head supported on a downy pillow of many colours :—

> " Effultum pluma versicolore caput."

In IV. i. 15 (V. i. 15), he refers to the bellying awnings of the Roman theatres :—

> " Nec sinuosa cavo pendebat vela theatro."

In vii. 46 (V. vii. 46) to Nomas, once a common street-walker, but now trailing her gold-wrought cyclas[1] over the ground :—

> " Haec nunc aurata cyclade signat humum " :

and in viii. 23 (V. viii. 43) to Cynthia's " silk lined (or curtained) *eka* " (serica carpenta).

[1] This is the Persian *saqlatun*, and Mahratti *sakla ;* words derived from the Sanskrit *saklat*, the bright circle of the moon ; a word connected with the Greek κύκλος. The English word scarlet comes directly from the Mahratti *suklat.*

Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 18) in his *Metamorphoses*, in the fable, Book VI. of the contest in weaving between Arachne (whose very name is the Semitic word *arag*,[1] "to spin") and Minerva, gives, in lines 70–128, two of the most interesting and instructive descriptions of tapestries that have come down to us from classical times. Pallas covers the field of her web with the scene of the trial of Mars on the Areopagus at Athens, by "the twice six celestial gods," on his accusation by Neptune of having slain Halirrhothius. And in each corner of the field she wrought an ominous representation of some previous contest between presumptuous mortals and the undying deities. The first corner contained the story of the metamorphoses of Rhodope and Hæmus; the second of Gerane the queen of the Pygmies; the third of Antigone the daughter of Laomedon, King of Troy; and the fourth of Cinyras and his daughters. And she surrounded it with a border of olive leaves:—

> "Circuit extremas oleis pacalibus oras."

The Mæonian nymph delineates her tapestry with the symbolical amours of the gods; to all of whom she gives their own likenesses: and she bordered it with flowers, interwoven with trailing ivy:—

> "Ultima pars telae, tenni circumdata limbo,
> Nexilibus flores hederis habet intertextos."

The "field" of the first tapestry with its "filling" and corner "lozenges" is characteristically Persian; and the borders of both are in the purest style of classical decorative art, and should be reproduced by modern European carpet manufacturers of scholarly taste; while

[1] In the previous lines, 54–8, the whole process of weaving is fully and accurately described:—

> "Et gracili geminas intendunt stamine telas.
> Tela jugo vincta est; stamen secernit arundo:
> Inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis;
> Quod digiti expediunt, atque inter stamina ductum
> Percusso feriunt insecti pectine dentes."

the central pictorial scenes are not altogether objectionable in textile fabrics intended to be hung between pillars, or against walls, and thus to serve in part as paintings.

In the same book of the *Metamorphoses*, lines 576–7, Ovid says of Philomela, that she skilfully hung a warp of " barbarian design " in the loom, and interweaving purple with white, discovered the villainy of Tereus to his sister Procne :—

> " Stamina barbarica suspendit callida tela :
> Purpureasque notas filis intexuit albis."

In the *Ars Amatoria*, i. 103–4, the poet states that in the time of Romulus, neither did curtains hang over the marble theatre, nor was the stage suffused with liquid saffron :—

> " Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro
> Nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco."

Pliny (A.D. 23–79) in book VIII. chapter lxxiii. (48) writes : " Thick flocky wool has always been esteemed for the manufacture of carpets [in tapetis] from the earliest times. It is quite clear from what we read in Homer that they were in use in his time. The Gauls embroider [pingunt] them in a different manner from that in use among the Persians [aliter Parthorum gentes, an allusion to pile carpets]. The refuse of the wool [from weaving and felting] is used for stuffing mattresses, an invention, I fancy, of the Gauls." Again, in chapter lxxiv. (48) he writes : " The royal waved toga worn by Servius Tullius, now in the Temple of Fortune, was woven by Tanaquil. She was the first who wove the straight tunic [rectam tunicam], such as our young men wear with the plain toga ; and newly married women also. Fenestella informs us that smooth togas, and Phrygian togas [togas rasas Phrygianasque] began to be used in the latter part of the reign of Augustus. The bordered toga [prætexta] had its origin among the Etruscans. I find the striped toga was first used by the Kings [trabeis usos accipio reges]. Em-

broidered garments [pictæ vestes] are mentioned by Homer, and in this class originated our triumphal robes. The Phrygians first used the needle for this purpose [that is to say, in the opinion of the Romans], and hence this kind of garment obtained the name of Phrygionian. King Attalus, who also lived in Asia, invented the art of embroidering in gold, from whence these garments have been called Attalic.[1] Babylon was very famous for its embroidery in different colours [colores diversos picturæ intexere], and hence stuffs of this kind obtained the name of Babylonian. The method of weaving cloths with more than two threads [of the warp, i.e. μιτός] was invented at Alexandria ; these cloths are called polymita. It was in Gaul [it was really in Egypt and Mesopotamia] that they were first divided in chequers [scutulis dividere]. Metellus Scipio, father of Cornelia [the beloved wife of Pompey], stated that even in his time Babylonian coverings for dining couches [tricliniaria Babylonica, the sets of three carpets, one for the top, and one for each side of the length of a room, used to this day in Persia] were selling for 800,000 sesterces [? £4600], and the price of these of late [in the time of Nero] had risen to 4,000,000 sesterces [£23,000]. The pretextæ of Servius Tullius, with which the statue of Fortune, dedicated by him, was covered, lasted until the death of Sejanus, and it is a remarkable fact that, during a period of 560 years, they had never become tattered, or received injury from moth."

Silius Italicus, A.D. 25–9, who elsewhere refers to "the superb webs of the Arabians" (Indians) and the "gold-striped tunics" of the Gauls, in Book xiv. lines 655–60, speaks of Syracuse at the height of her glory as not needing to import bronzes from Corinth (Ephyra) nor to look for rivals in the art of manufacturing gold brocades,

[1] This is what the Romans supposed, but a second, and earlier, etymology of the denomination of this enriched stuff may be suggested in the Semitic *atalus* or *atlas*, originally some heavy brocade, and now, almost exclusively, satin.

whereon the Babylonians produced the faces of men that seemed to breathe, nor to envy the purple of Tyre and Attalic stuffs, nor the webs of Egypt :—

> "Quæ scirent Ephyren, fulvo certaret ut auro
> Vestis, spirantes referens subtemine vultus,
> Quæ radio cælat Babylon, vel murice picto
> Læta Tyros, quæque Attalicis variata per artem
> Aulæis scribuntur acu, aut Memphetide tela."

Juvenal (*circa* A.D. 25–? 95) in iv. 122, refers to the stage-machinery of his time, and the boys caught up by it to the awnings :—

> "et pueros inde ad velaria raptos."

In vi. 227–8, satirising the faithless bride, he says she leaves the doors so recently adorned, the tapestry (vela) still hanging on the house :—

> "Ornatas paulo ante fores, pendentia linquit
> Vela domus."

In the following lines, 259–60, after deriding the manly airs such women often give themselves, he adds that these same women perspire even in the cyclas, and are oppressed by a slip of delicate silk :—

> "Hæ sunt, quæ tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum
> Delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit."

In ix. 105, he refers to the use of tapestry hangings for keeping out draughts :—

> "Vela tegant rimas" :

and in x. 38–9, describes the prætor, at the opening of the Circensian games, bearing on his shoulders the Tyrian (Sarra, now es Sur) hangings of his embroidered toga :—

> "In tunica Jovis, et pictæ Sarrana ferentem
> Ex humeris aulæa togæ."

Martial, A.D. 43–104, in II. xvi., says of Zoilus that the tapestries (stragula, cf. XIV. cxlvii.) on his couch are the cause of his fever :—

> "Zoilus ægrotat, faciunt hanc stragula febrem.
> Si fuerit sanus, coccina quid facient ?
> Quid torus a Nilo ? Quid Sidone tinctus olenti ?"

In VIII. xxviii. 17–18, he says of the toga presented to him by Parthenius, that he would not prefer to it the embroidered stuffs of Babylon, decorated with the needle of Semiramis :—

> " Non ego prætulerim Babylonica picta superbe
> Texta, Semiramia quæ variantur acu " :

and in XIV. cl. occurs the couplet, already quoted, on an ornamental coverlet :—

> " Hæc tibi Memphitis tellus dat munera ; victa est
> Pectine Niliaco jam Babylonis acus."

Petronius Arbiter, A.D. 54–68, vi., describing Trimalchio's feast, says that presently the servants came in and " spread tapestry on the couches " (toralia proposuerunt toris) ; and, in viii. quotes a fragment from Publius Syrus, comparing the glory of an embroidered Babylonian shawl (amictus, cf. *ἱμάτιον, ἐπίβλημα*) with that of a peacock's tail :—

> " Tuo palato oculosus pavo nascitur
> Plumato amictus aureo Babylonico."

Lucan, *circa* A.D. 65, in ii. 354–64, writing of the private re-marriage of Cato with Marcia, says that she wore no girdle of gems, no necklace, no saffron veil, no turreted crown, nor was the threshold of the house hung with garlands, and the door posts with white fillets [*torun* of Hindus of Bombay], nor were there the usual torches, " nor did the couch stand on high with its ivory steps, nor was its coverings variegated with embroidered gold " (et picto vestes discriminat auro). In x. 125–6, of the coverlets of the couches used, at the entertainment given by Cleopatra to Cæsar, he says " a part shines embroidered [plumata] with gold, a part fiery with Kermes, as is the manner of mingling the threads in Egyptian looms " :—

> " Pars auro plumata nitet ; pars ignea cocco,
> Ut mos est Phariis miscendi licia telis."

Lines 141–3 of the same book, describing the appear-

ance of Cleopatra herself, have already been quoted,[1] but will bear repetition here :—

> "Candida Sidonio perlucent pectore filo,
> Quod Nilotis acus percussum pectine Serum
> Solvit, et extenso laxavit stamina velo."

Quintus Curtius, *circa* A.D. 100, III. iii. 18, states that the robes of Persian nobles were adorned in gold, with "hawks affronted" (pallam auro distinctam, aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se corruerent, adornabant).

Apuleius, A.D. 125–75, makes several references to curtains, embroidered cushions, and other tapestries, and to silken umbrellas, robes, and other articles of dress ; but the only passages I shall here quote are two, both in Book XI., illustrating the symbolical designs of the sumptuary textile manufactures of his time.

The first describes the vestments in which the goddess Isis appears to Lucius : "Her robe [prætexta], woven of fine flax [bysso tenui], was of many colours ; now shining white [nunc albo candore lucida], now yellow as the crocus [nunc croceo flore lutea], and now flaming in crimson [nunc roseo rubore flammida]. But what fixed my gaze most of all was her mantle of deepest black, and resplendent glossy lustre [palla nigerrima, splendescens arto nitore]. Glittering stars were dispersed along the extremities of the garment and over its whole surface, while in the midst a moon of two weeks old breathed forth its flaming fires."

The second passage describes the mantle worn by Lucius at his initiation as a priest of Isis : "A rich mantle [pretiosa chlamyda] descended from my shoulders down my back to my ankles, and on whatever part of it you looked there was something to arrest your attention in the animals with which it was embroidered in various colours [colore vario circumnotatis insignibar animalibus]. Here were Indian serpents, there Hyperborean griffins [hinc

[1] At p. 253.

dracones Indici, inde Gryphes Hyperborei], which the other world [mundus alter] generates in the form of a beast with wings. The persons devoted to the service of the divinity call this the Olympic stole."

Ammianus Marcellinus, A.D. 333–95, the last of the classic Latin historians, writes, XIV. vi. 9, of the vices of the Romans of his time: "Others glory . . . in their splendid apparel, . . . showing by the constant wriggling of their bodies, and particularly by the waving of the left hand, their anxiety the more conspicuously to show off the multiform figures of animals embroidered [effigiatæ in species animalium multiformes] on their long fringed tunics"; and, XXIV. vi. 3, of Julian's invasion of Assyria: "After our fatigues, that we might enjoy some seasonable rest, we encamped in an open plain, rich with trees, vines, and cypresses, in the middle whereof was a shady and delicious pavilion, having all over it, according to the fashion of the country, pictures of the king slaying wild beasts in the chase; for they never paint, or in any way represent anything, except different kinds of slaughter and war" (varias cædes et bella).

Claudian (*circa* A.D. 395), the last of the classic Latin poets, in his Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of Honorius, says of the magnificent toga of the young Cæsar that, "Tyre provided its purple dye, China its woof of silk, and India the gems that weighted it":—

> "Tribuere colorem
> Phœnices, Seres subtemina, pondus Hydaspes":

And in his *Rape of Proserpine* the description of a tapestry recalls those immortalised by Virgil, and Catullus, and Euripides. I am at present unable to give it in the original, and translate it from memory. "She [Proserpine] illustrated on the web with her needle the movement of the elements: Nature, the Mother of the Worlds, separating form and order from the formless void, and everywhere sowing the seeds of life in the ground yielding it; the lighter

particles floating upward, and the heavier falling downward; and the shining ether, and the stars revolving round the pole, and the earth floating suspended in their midst, its sea covered with waves. The stars are golden, the sea swells in purple, the land rises in glittering gems, while skilfully woven threads foam in waves against every coast. One could see the seaweed being torn from the rocks, and hear the resounding waves as they broke on the beach. Five zones she drew with her needle: the centre of heat, and on either side of this a temperate zone; and beyond these the poles heaped with palæocrystic ice, and numbed with cold, and wrapped in eternal gloom. She depicted also the realm of Hades, and, oh! sad omen, her fated throne beside him."

Finally, Sidonius (C. Sollius Apollinaris), *circa* A.D. 500, Bishop of Auvergne, on the eve of the Middle Ages of the West, and of the Mahometan conquest of the East, states in his *Carmina*, xxiii. 423–7, that at the Circensian games, silks, with palms, and crowns with necklaces (torques), were given to the successful competitors, and to the rest carpets:—

> "Hic mox præcipit æquus Imperator,
> Palmis Serica, torquibus coronas
> Conjungi, et meritum remunerari,
> Victis ire jubens, satis pudendis
> Villis versicoloribus tapetas":

And, in his *Letters*, IX. xiii. he thus describes a piece of tapestry: "There we see Ctesiphon and Niphates, with wild beasts tearing across the web, infuriated by their skilfully pictured wounds, wherefrom the blood flows unreal as the javelin that has pierced them. There also we see the fierce Parthian on his swift steed, now retreating, with his head turned back, and now advancing to hurl the javelin, putting to flight the wild beasts whose similitude he pursues."

VI

Emblematic Art

The foregoing archæological and literary survey makes it clear that carpets were probably manufactured in Egypt, and possibly in Chaldæa, long anterior to 2400 B.C.; that, from the date of their earliest representations and descriptions to the present day there has been no material modification in the artistic and technical character, or even in the commercial denominations of Oriental carpets; that, from about 2400 B.C. to 800 B.C., the period of the commercial and artistic ascendancy of Egypt in Syria and Mesopotamia, and of the Egypto-Chaldæan art of the Hittites in Asia Minor, Oriental carpets were already well known in Eastern Europe; that, from about 800 B.C. to the close of the Persian wars against Greece, 480 B.C., the Oriental carpets known to the Greeks were still of the non-Hellenised archaic types of Egypt and Anterior Asia, displaying under the now predominating influence of Assyria over Syria and Egypt, the figures of the "Tree of Life," and the symbolical winged beasts of the Babylonians, in wonderful harmonies of glowing primitive colours. We have also seen that from 480 B.C., the date of the deliverance of Greece from the terror of Persia, to 146 B.C., the date of her subjugation by Rome, the period of the greatest activity of the genius of the Greeks, and signalised by the successive supremacies of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes (480–331 B.C.), the conquests of Alexander and the Diadochi (338–280 B.C.), and the brilliant reign of the Attalidæ at Pergamum (280–133 B.C.), during these 340 years the stromaturgic art of the East, conforming more or less completely to the standards of Hellenic taste, attained its highest excellence in design, as proved by the preference during this period of the conventionalised forms of flowers in decoration, to the strange monstrous shapes of winged bulls and lions, and eagle-headed men, the "high"

seraphim, and " mighty " cherubim[1] of the Babylonians. Finally, it is clear that, from the capture of Corinth, by Mummius (146 B.C.), to the overthrow of the Western Roman Empire by the barbarians (A.D. 476), and the invasion of the Eastern Empire by the Saracens (A.D. 720–39), there occurred, under the materialising influence of the supremacy of Rome in the Mediterranean and over Anterior Asia, a gradual degradation in the manufacture of Oriental carpets, not indeed in their technical characteristics, including their superb colouring, but in their intrinsic artistic qualities; for we now observe in their decoration, not only the recrudescence of unnatural animal forms that had already lost all their meaning, but the wholly incongruous introduction of landscapes and even portraits.

It is to the carpets of this, the debased Roman period of classical art, that Philostratus, who lived in the third century A.D., vividly refers in his *Imagines*, ii. 31: " We recommend the artist, not for his close imitation of the king on his peacock throne—of his tiara, and robe, and tunic—figured with the fanciful animals the barbarians embroider on their clothes ἣ θηρίων τερατώδεις μορφὰς οἷα ποικίλλουσι βάρβαροι, but for the fine drawn gold so deftly intertissued with the web."

The carpet manufacture of the West laboured down to the middle of the last century under the disastrous effects of this Roman corruption of sumptuary art; but in the East it was suddenly saved from further deterioration by a most providential conjunction of circumstances, namely, that in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., the

[1] See I. Kings vi. 29, 32, 35:—" And he carved all the walls of the house [Solomon's Temple] round about with carved figures of cherubims [winged bulls, etc.] and palm trees [Trees of Life] and open flowers [knop and flowers]"; and Ezekiel xli. 18:—" And it [the Temple of the Prophet's vision] was made with cherubims and palm trees, so that a palm tree was between a cherub and a cherub" [" seraph beasts affronted "]. Compare also Ezekiel xl. 18–26, and II. Chronicles iii. 5–17.

Saracens rapidly overran the Sassanian Persian Empire, and the Syrian and African provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire, enforcing wherever they settled the peremptory interdiction by their new faith of the use of animal forms in decoration, and even of floral forms, unless conventionalised to an almost bare geometrical delineation; and the facility with which the plastic Greeks in Syria, Egypt, and Persia, at once, under compulsion of their new masters, adapted the degenerated arts of the Eastern, or Lower Roman (Byzantine) Empire to the religious principles, and social and domestic necessities of Islam.

There was, indeed, nothing sudden, any more than accidental, in this happy association of apparently disconnected circumstances, for it is one of the most striking illustrations to be found in human history, of "the long results of time" directed to their patient and beneficent fulfilment by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.

About the Christian era, the Greeks had been brought in Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, into familiar and uninterrupted contact with arts that had indeed already been modified by themselves, through the establishment in the fourth century B.C. of the Macedonian dominions of Alexander the Great, and the Seleucidæ, and the Lagidæ, over Anterior Asia and Egypt, but which still, particularly in the building style of these countries, preserved traces, not to be found in Greece, or even in Italy, of the vague and barbaric grandeur of the Egypto-Mesopotamian temples and palaces of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia; wherein the architecture and subsidiary decorative arts of sculpture, pottery, painting, mosaic, tapestry, and furniture (*ἡ κατασκευή* as opposed to *τὰ ἔπιπλα*) generally, have everywhere had their origin. Probably it was not less to the intimate intercourse of the Greeks, from the time of Alexander the Great and the Diadochi,

with Anterior Asia, than to the universal influence of the ostentatious magnificence of Rome under the Cæsars, that we owe the vulgarity of the rankly luxuriant arts, including that of tapestry, of the Græco-Roman period.

But at the time of this Asiatic reaction on Greece she was in turn modifying, and far more widely and deeply than under Alexander the Great, the local arts of every nation brought under her influence in the course of the conquests and the commerce of the Cæsars. This interaction between the West and the East produced, between 480 and 146 B.C., the Græco-Buddhistic, or pre-Byzantine art of Central Asia, Afghanistan, and the Punjab ; between 332 B.C. and A.D. 284, the Coptic or pre-Byzantine art of Egypt ; and between 226 B.C. and A.D. 652, the Sassanian or pre-Byzantine art of Persia.

Again, when classical art, in its later debased Roman form, sought a refuge in Constantinople (A.D. 328) from the barbarians who overthrew the Western Empire, it there, in the service of Eastern Christianity, and under the influence of Coptic, Sassanian, and Græco-Buddhistic art, transformed itself, between the sixth and twelfth centuries A.D., into the Byzantine art of Constantinople ; of which a strong outpost was planted at Ravenna, in Italy (A.D. 568–752).

Then, on the Nestorian Greeks being driven in the fifth and sixth centuries from Constantinople, they fled into Syria, Persia, and Egypt, and from Persia (where, as seceders from the Christian Church, now identified with the Eastern Roman Empire, they were hospitably received) they spread through Central Asia to the confines of China, and into India and Arabia ; until in the fourteenth century A.D., their further diffusion was cut short by the incursions and persecutions of the Mongols, under Timur. They had carried with them from the first the fructifying germs of Greek art ; and, in the seventh and eighth centuries, were everywhere accepted by the Saracen

Arabs as their architects and artisans. Limiting themselves, in conformity with the religious scruples of their employers (in part shared by themselves) to the production of floral and geometrical ornamentation, they, on the foundations of Indo-Buddhistic, Sassanian, Coptic, and Byzantine art, created Saracenic art as the ultimate Oriental expression of Greek art.[1]

But if the keen perception of the Greeks for the beautiful, particularly for purity, and delicacy, and grace of line, served, at the critical moment, to deliver the sumptuary carpets of the East from the indecorum and grossness by which they were contaminated and oppressed during the later imperial Roman period, the resuscitation of their ritualistic status, which, of itself, powerfully contributed to their artistic regeneration, was wholly the work of the Saracens themselves. These carpets had lost much of their religious character in originally passing from Egypt, and Phœnicia, and Lydia, into Greece; and, except for their continued use as the outer and inner veils of temples, they would appear, during the ascendancy of Macedon and Rome, to have gradually become entirely secularised in Europe.

The Saracen Arabs at once changed all this. They were deeply imbued with the almost universal Asiatic sense of the unity and absolute inseparability of the spiritual and material lives of men; and with the corresponding, although not necessarily deducible feeling, that durable, precious, and beautiful things can only be rightly used in the service of man, in so far as they also are made to

[1] Analogously in the West, on Leo III (Isauricus), A.D. 717, expelling the image worshippers from Constantinople, they, followed by the fugitives of 754, and of 830 and 869, sought a refuge in Italy. There under the patronage of Charlemagne, 768 to 814, they gave that direction to the architecture of the Christianised barbarians who had overthrown the Western Empire which, notwithstanding the continuing vitality of the traditions of classical art in Italy and France, resulted in the development, between the ninth and sixteenth centuries, of the sublime Gothic art of Mediæval Europe.

minister to the glory of God. To the devout Saracen Arab, Nature—whether in its universality or its particularity—is the city, the garden, the mountain, in a word, the Temple of God ; and, like the men of every other Asiatic race that has helped to civilise the world, he insisted that this fact should be unequivocally recognised in all the arts that sustained and adorned his newborn life in God ; so that whether a mosque was built for him, or a carpet woven, or a gem set in silver—or, as later, in gold—he required that it should be a symbol of the consecration of the whole creation of things, seen and unseen, to the glory of God in the Highest. In this instinctive identification of the beautiful with the good (*τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν*),[1] of the holiness of beauty with the beauty of holiness, we perceive the ideal inspiration of the perfection of the Saracens' own excellency in the arts, quite independently of their obvious obligations to the masterful draughtsmanship and general manipulative dexterity of the Greeks.

It thus happened that the pictorial and scenic type of Oriental carpets of the Sassanian Persian Empire, and Lower Roman Empire, rapidly, in the seventh and eighth centuries, gave place to the new Saracenic floral type. Not that the former were ever entirely superseded, for to the present day they survive in Egypt, and yet more numerously in Persia, where these *thardwash* (i.e. " beast

[1] Plato roundly says [*Republic*, v. 452] that the man is a fool who judges the beautiful by any other standard than that of the good ; and Aristotle expresses the same opinion [*Nicomachian Ethics*, i. 6] with a more limited application. The most animating enunciation of the principle is made by Euripides in *The Bacchæ*, as the refrain of the spirited Chorus, 862–910 :—" What is more beautiful than wisdom ? . . . the beautiful is a joy for ever," *ὅ τε καλὸν φίλον ἀεὶ*, this line having, as suggested by Mr. Gilbert Norwood, in his *Riddle of the Bacchæ*, undoubtedly inspired the first line of Keats' *Endymion* :—

" A thing of beauty is a joy for ever,"—

if not indeed his treatment of the whole poem. But Keats restricts the principle as closely to æsthetic—almost sensuous—beauty, as Aristotle to ethical.

hunt "), or, as they are called in India,[1] *shikargah* (i.e. "hunting-ground ") carpets, are still known under the traditional name of *Susangird*,[2] that is, of Susiana (Khuzistan), or again, the Persian Empire ; for the word, *gird*, compare our "girdle," although it literally means "suburb," as in *gird-i-shehr*, "the suburb of the city," here has the wider meaning of the "vicinage," "region," "province," "empire " ; as in *Daoudgird*—literally, "the ward of David," Mount Zion, and again, Jerusalem—but,

[1] The following are the designations of carpets known in India :—*basat* ("spread "), *farash* ("spread "), *gastardah* ("spread "), these three being general terms for carpets ; *harami* ("holy "), the chief carpet in a room ; *sar-andaz* ("head-placed "), the carpet placed at the head of a room ; *barikah* ("narrow "), the "strips " of carpet extending on either side of a room from the *sarandaz* to the opposite end of a room ; the *sarandaz*, and two *barikah*, representing the "tricliniaria " of the Romans ; *galim* or *kilim*, the large carpet (*harami*) placed in the centre of a room, and of a mosque ; *sajjadah* ("place of prostration "), *jai-namaz* ("place of prayer "), and *masalla* ("adoration "), all names of prayer carpets ; *susni*, a quilt-like covering embroidered with lilies (*susan*), and probably so called because originally imported into India from Susa, "the Lily," the summer capital of Achæmenian Persia ; *thardwash* ("beast hunts "), or *shikargah* ("huntings "), carpets depicted, after the manner of those of ancient Persia, with beast hunts and similar scenes, and generically designated *Susangird ; namad*, a felt carpet ; *ru-farash*, the linen covering for carpets ; *satrangi* ("four-colours ") or *jamkhana* ("assembly-room," i.e. sitting-room, or tent carpet), a chequered, or striped, carpet, generally of cotton ; *dari* (literally "twill," by usage "door," i.e. *dwar* rug), a small cotton carpet ; and *tabsat*, a coarse rug. *Namad* is a felted carpet, *takyanamad* being a felted carpet from Afghanistan, or Persia ; in which latter country the *sarandaz* and *barikah* are usually felts. I am also told that in Persia they distinguish between *galim* or *kilim* and *gali* or *kili* carpets, the latter being a woollen pile carpet, and the former a woollen pileless carpet, "the same on both sides." See Athenæus, pp. 270–1. *Baluchi* is a term applied in India to carpets from Baluchistan, whether of wool or cotton.

[2] The Indian quilts embroidered with the conventionalised flowers of the white water-lily are called *Susni*, a corruption, as I have already inferred, of the Persian *Susani*, "of Susa." The term may not impossibly be a corruption of the Persian *suzani*, meaning "needle " work, and, in this instance, specifically "embroidery " : or at least it may have as much of *suzan*, "a needle," in its entymology, as of *susan*, "lilies," here referring to the city of Susa. But in the phrase *Susan-gird*, always pronounced by the Jews in Persia "*Sushan gird*," there is no reference to "needlework " or embroidery ; that is to *suzan-kar*, or *kar-i-suzan*. The phrase means simply carpets of the style of the (Sassanian, or of the Achæmenian) Persian Empire. *Suzan*, a needle, is compounded of *su*, "appertaining to," and *zan*, "woman."

in its largest sense, the " realm " or " kingdom " of David. But the new, and severely conventionalised floral type, applied either as a diaper, or in the " Tree of Life " and " knop and flower " patterns, gradually prevailed ; and as modified in the freer drawing, and more natural delineations of the Italianesque Abbasi carpets, it characterises the predominant denominations of modern Persian carpets ; which may again be described as *Susangird* carpets, "cum floribus," instead of "cum historia," as in the pre-Saracenic times of the Chosroes, and Byzantine Cæsars. The more strictly geometrical patterns originally introduced by the Saracens, now linger, in their crudest relics, only among the Turanian and Negroid populations of the Central Asian and African limits of Islam; and simply through the incapacity of these races for the higher, floral styles of decorative draughtsmanship.

Yet, whatever their type of ornamentation may be, a deep and complicated semeiography originating in Babylonia, and possibly India, pervades every denomination of Oriental carpets. Thus the carpet itself represents space and eternity, and the general pattern, or " filling " as it is technically termed, the fleeting finite universe of animated beauty. Every colour used has its significance ; and the design, whether mythological or natural, human, bestial, or floral, all has its connotative meaning. Even the representations of men hunting wild beasts have their emblematical indications. So have the natural flowers of Persia their symbolism wherever they are introduced, and generally following that of their colours. The very irregularities, either in drawing or colouring, to be observed in almost every Oriental carpet, and invariably in Turkman carpets, are seldom accidental, the usual deliberate intention of them being to avert the evil eye, and to assure good luck.[1]

[1] See my " Introduction " to Mr. Vincent Robinson's book on *Eastern Carpets*, (Sotheran) 1882, and (Quaritch) 1893 ; and for the full symbolism of the " Tree of Life " my *Industrial Arts of India* (Chapman and Hall), 1880.

The noblest of these allusive carpets are everywhere the *harami* carpets, made expressly to be placed under the domes of mosques, and the *sajjadah*, of a much smaller size, made chiefly in Syria and Kurdistan, for the faithful of Islam to prostrate themselves on, when at prayers.

The latter are always of the colour distinguishing the order of dervishes, or faqueers, for whom they are primarily intended ; as deep blue or black for the Rifaiyah, red for the Ahmadiyah, green for the Bahramiyah, and white for the Kadiriyah ; and they invariably have, at one end, a well-defined representation of the *mihrab*,[1] or niche, in the centre of one of the walls of every mosque, marking the direction of the *kiblah* (" opposite "), or sacred point, towards which Orientals generally look when at their devotions, and which for Mussulmans is Mecca. This mimic *mihrab*, which usually enclosed a figure of the "Tree of Life," is always directed, when the carpet is in use, towards Mecca. The Persian name of these carpets is *jai-namaz*, or " the place of prayer " ; and their Arabic name, *sajjadah*, literally "prostration," meaning "the place of prayer," and *masalla*, meaning " adoration."[2] It is radically the same word as *masjid*, or, in its corrupted English form, mosque, " the place of (public) prayer " ; and the prayer carpet is often found to be designed on the general ground plan of the mosque, with its doorway, and place for leaving the shoes of " the Faithful," and tank for ablutions, and pulpit, and cloisters, all indicated, in addition to the ever-present *mihrab*. In short, it would

[1] Derived, like the niches in Hindu temples, from the niches in which, in the ancient Buddhistic monuments of India, the image of Buddha is found placed. The Saracenic arch also obviously had the same origin, its characteristic curve being that of the cope of these niches over the shoulders, and above the head, of the contained image of Buddha.

[2] The red *sajjadah*, *jainamas*, or *masalla*, is used in Mahometan countries for the conjuration of genii, and the adjuration, or exorcism, of demons.

seem as if the mosque originated in the prayer carpet; and the first "house of God," apart from the overhanging branches of the trees that were primitively worshipped as gods, was possibly the carpet spread before some idol image of general resort among the tribes of the vast rainless, treeless, desert solitudes lying between the valleys of the Nile, and the Tigris, and the Euphrates. Diodorus Siculus tells us that the Egyptians used carpets in this way; and stamped and hand-painted cotton cloths are still similarly used by the Hindus.

Thus, notwithstanding that daily familiarity with sacred things tends to dull the sense of awe that should ever be inspired by their presence, the abiding feeling, at the heart of hearts of every truly reverent Muslim, when standing on the *sajjadah*, can only be fitly expressed in the devout words of the patriarch, Jacob, at Bethel (Genesis xxviii. 17): "This is none other but the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven."[1]

The spiritual exaltation of character whereby the Mussulmans are pre-eminently distinguished, is altogether owing to their thus individually realising in everything around them the directly felt presence of the Deity; and nothing is more remarkable than the immediate effect of this habit of mind in developing the personality, and in every way raising the condition, of the convert from Paganism to their inexorable monotheistic faith. But we are here more interested in its elevating and refining influences on the arts inherited by them from their Saracenic predecessors.

The religious sense of the indivisible unity of the spiritual with the material world, of this perishing earth of ours having also its part in the imperishable Paradise of God, illuminates the whole temporal life of man with the eternal light of heaven, and inspires every human work, of even the humblest handicraft, with that illusion of a

[1] Compare Exodus iii. 5; Joshua v. 15; and Acts vii. 33.

higher reality, wherein is found not only the true perfection of art, but the most spontaneous, and the most congenial expression the finite powers of symbolisation we possess can give to our conceptions of infinite beauty and goodness.

In saying this, it is not meant that art, here limited to "the fine arts" and "the applied arts," affords the highest mode of denoting the ultimate conception of religious truth included in the creeds or verbal symbols of Christendom and Islam; if for no other reason, because Christians for the most part, and Mussulmans universally, have reached a level of culture above that at which graven images, and pictures and other graphic representations can be venerated, nay actually worshipped, as symbols of Deity. But there is in the heart of man an instinctive and imperative craving for communion—actual colloquy—with God, that is to bring "the Word of Life" into consciousness, that may, as it were, be seen, handled, and tasted, and which he as instinctively seeks to satisfy by the artifices of music, or painting, or sculpture, or language. If it be admitted that language is the supreme medium of intercourse with God, for that very reason it is the less suited for the use of the generality of men, for whom music, and painting, and sculpture, devoutly directed, will always remain the most powerful means for drawing the soul towards, and absorbing it in, the Deity. It would have been more for the happiness of the world if, instead of scientifically investigating, and logically wrangling over, our religious conceptions, and embodying them in definite verbal formulas, that after all are an implied denial of their spirituality, and a ceaseless provocation to explicit questionings of their truth—it would have been far better to have left them to the familiar symbolisation of the arts that have been the great historical vehicle for their transmission throughout the habitable globe, and everywhere the best understood of mankind.

Nor can it be denied that the supreme satisfaction of art lies in its spiritual significance; and that if this be wanting in any art, it is all vanity; the wretched vanity of the realistic painters the Greeks aptly described as "dirt painters" (ῥυπαρο-λράφοι). The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing, and art, void of its supernatural typology, fails in its inherent artistic essence, as well as in the divine sources of its sempiternal joy and glory. It is indeed the whole secret of the fascination exercised over us by the arts of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of modern India—the India of the Hindus—where the whole basis of life is still religious; as also by Saracenic art, for although the Muslims repudiated the idolatrous symbolism of Paganism, they retained, and indeed intensified, its insuppressable, quickening spirit. It is the surpassing praise also of the ecclesiastical arts of the West, the arts, that is, of the historical Catholic Roman and Greek and schismatic Anglican Churches; for in the presence of these sacramental arts it is the majesty and glory of the whole creation of things, visible and invisible, that seems spread out before us, although it be but a carpet on which we look.

Of this transcendental art was the mystic cestus (Iliad, xiv. 214–19), or girdle of Alma Venus, which we may imagine to have been a web of lightest sindon [i.e. "Indian" muslin] broadly striped throughout its length in diaphanous rose, and ivory white, and saffron, and azure, as if "Iris had dipp'd the woof";[1] and inwrought, at its ends, with conventional representations of the allurements of the senses, and, over all its gossamer ground with a delicate "filling" of flowers of the most exquisite grace of form, and the most refreshing sweetness of bloom, emblems of the eternal youth, and fragrance of untainted natural love and beauty.

[1] Milton's *Paradise Lost*, xi. 244. Compare *Comus*, 83:—"These my sky robes spun of Iris woof."

> "Te Dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila cœli,
> Adventum que tuum ; tibi suaveis dædala tellus,
> Submittit flores ; tibi rident æquora ponti,
> Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cœlum."[1]

Such also were the sacred veils of the ancient temples of the gods commemorated by Euripides, and Josephus, and Pausanias ; black, or purple, scintillating with the silver and gold of the glittering moon and her circle of radiant stars, each star in its own mansion revealing the foldings of the veil, depths beyond depths through the infinite abysses of space, filling the heart of man with awe in the presence of the mighty rulers of the darkness and the night ; or red, or saffron, or blue, dazzling with the golden brightness of the sun emblazoned amid his twelve diurnal and annual stations, shooting forth on all sides the light of day, and in turn chasing from the mid-heavens the Fishes, the Twins, the Balances, and Capricorn, leading on Spring and Summer, Autumn and Winter, in his triumphant train, and rejoicing the heart of man with the sense of perennially renewed life, and immortality.

Thus antiquity, from its being nearer than we are to the divine origin of things, was ever mindful to symbolise in its sublime art the truth of the conviction that the green circle of the earth, and the shining frame of the outstretched heavens, are but the marvellous intertexture of the veil dividing between the world we see and the unseen, inscrutable beyond. This is the reason of the vitality, the dignity, and the power of giving contentment, possessed by the arts of antiquity ; with which, alas ! the arts of the modern world of the West will never be endued, until they also become animated by the spirit of this pristine faith of every historical race of the Old World. " Vani-

[1] See the exquisite translation of these opening lines of the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, x., iv., 44, 45 ; from which I can here only quote the first two lines of stanza 45 :—

> "Then doth the daedale Earth throw forth to thee
> Out of her fruitful lap abundant flowers."

tas est deligere quod cum omni celeritate transit, et illuc non festinare ubi sempiternum gaudium manet" ; and for all the technical instruction that may be given, and all the luxurious illustrations of typical Eastern examples that may be published, no truly great carpet will ever be produced in Europe, until the weaver's heart is attuned to sing to the accompaniment of his ringing loom, and in grateful unison with every conjubilant voice of praise in heaven and on earth :—

> "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth ! [1]
> Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua ! Gloria in excelsis ! "

And this is the sum, and set seal of the whole matter :— The beauty of holiness, and the holiness of beauty, in their highest permonstration, are of one and the same divine sanctity and pulchritude.

[1] The Vulgate translation of this triumphal hymn (ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος) of the seraphim in Isaiah vi. 2, renders "sabaoth" by "exercitum," but the older translation of the Missal more correctly retains the Hebrew word (in its Hellenised form) "sabaoth," for it refers not to the armies of Israel, but to the stars, "the host of heaven "(Isaiah xi. 26), "the camp of God" (Genesis xxxii. 2).

INDIAN UNREST

I

From *Sanj Vartaman* (Bombay), the Parsi New Year's Number, 12th September, 1913.

THE ultimate cause, within the limits of a long-settled, well-governed, and wealthy country, of all honest and earnest political discontents, is to be found in the fact that the human kind—as indeed all organic life—reproduces itself beyond the means of its maintenance. Some thirty years ago, I went into the genealogical history of the whole of the "landed gentry" of a county in the south of Great Britain, and found that only one of these "County Families" had endured in it for more than 200 years. They had, for the most part, made their fortunes as manufacturers in the north, or as men of business in London; and had settled, to enjoy their wealth, in the south; where after three generations, or from 100 to 130 years, they had, and in spite of the law of primogeniture, been gradually reduced to the poverty out of which they had raised themselves, and then, for the most part, had returned to the north—haply to recover their fortunes. I found that this revolution in vicissitude was always going on between the north and the south of Great Britain, and that it was recognised by the north in the proverbial phrase:—"Three generations [as gentlefolk], and back to the clogs [i.e. to the factory and the mines]." In this, and in other ways, in all countries, and throughout the ages of human history, the hardening north has ever been subjugating the softening south.

Now, although the exciting causes of " the Unrest in India " are many, and lie on the surface, and its predisposing causes are not far to find—the originating cause of it, the *causa causans* of medical writers, is nothing other than the physiological fact that the population of an old, and peaceful, and prosperous country, invariably tends to outrun the supplies for its sustenance ; a fact which although well known to medical men and naturalists generally, is for the most part ignored, and through sheer ignorance, by politicians and philanthropists, and socialists ; who seem to concern themselves only with "the trappings and suits " of human woe ; that is with the patent symptoms of a disease, and not with its obscure, and, so to say, secret, primordial cause.

Among the exciting causes of the unrest in India, is the presence there of an ever-increasing number of Europeans of no education, and strong prejudices, who seek a living in India outside the Government services ; and again of educated English people both within the Government services and without them, who, knowing little or nothing of the profound spiritual culture of the Hindus, and of the Muslims, are over-zealous to impose on them our European system of education, which, although excellent for instruction, is deficient as a means of mental discipline, and altogether defective in its appliances for the promotion of culture ; and seek, moreover, to impose it on their Indian protégés and friends, not as a superadded accomplishment, but in substitution of their own traditional—[in the case of the Hindus, immemorial]—and idiosyncratic literatures, arts, and religions : in other words, to the destruction of the souls of the Hindus and Muslims of India.

Of the predisposing causes of this unrest the most effective is the " higher education," organised directly by the Government of India, for the training of medical men, lawyers, professors, etc. : an education which unfits a vast

number of them, in particular the B.A.'s and M.A.'s, for duly remunerative employment in India; while our colonists make it hopeless for them to seek employment in the neighbouring and still inadequately populated Commonwealth of Australia and Union of South Africa. Again, the terrible effect of our godless system of public education in India on the Hindus, in destroying their faith in their own religion, without substituting any other in its place, has served seriously to alienate from us the loyalty of the Brahmans; to secure which should be the first and the abiding solicitude of every Englishman in India. The agricultural classes of India are perfectly indifferent as to who rules over them, so they be left to sow and reap in quietness of soul; but the Brahmans are their gods, and the redeemers and saviours of their souls. The Rajputs, and other reigning Hindu Princes, are loyal from the ground of their hearts toward us; forasmuch as they have now reigned for about 100 years in unclouded sunshine, under the ægis of England as the paramount power in India: but the paramount power over their souls are the Brahmans. And they deserve to be; for it is their wary wisdom, as embodied in the "Code of Manu," and other cognate Hindu law books, that has kept India—India of the Hindus—together in absolute communal and religious unity for 3,000 years past, and through ceaseless political revolutions: and if their conservative hold on the people of India is ever undermined, and the missionaries of the Catholic Roman Church are not there, prepared to take their place, India will once again rapidly be reduced to even a more ghastly chaos than under its Afghan and Mongol conquerors; who for the most part ruled the country by plunderings and ruthless devastations.

The consequences of the pressure of the population of India on the provision for its support is further aggravated, especially for "English educated Indians," by the reduction under our beneficent rule of the frequency and

severity of famines, and of visitations of plague and cholera, by our now severely enforced sanitary regulations, by our treatment of fever with quinine, and by the abolition of widow burning, and female infanticide, and other ritualistic murders ; and (to our shame) by the maleficent closing of South Africa, and Australia, to the free immigration of Hindus and Muslims from India. Should this state of things, evil and good alike, continue for another fifty or sixty years, and there is no relief from war, famine, and pestilence, and emigration, a fierce and deadly political crisis—a revolution resolvable only in inexorable bloodshed—must result. The welfare of India in the immediate future, indeed, depends primarily on the Government of India, and secondarily on the head of every family in India, seeking, and strenuously, to keep a level balance between the population of the country and the food for their livelihood. As the Government of every civilised country in the Old World has, *mutatis mutandis*, the same problem before it, we need not despair of its solution in India—the most scientifically governed country in the world, not excepting Germany.

It is the consideration of the fact of this inherent law, or property of nature, of reckless self-propagation, that has led me from the first to be so lenient in judging of the *svadeshi* agitation in India ; and of the no less idiotic *bêtiseries* of our overswarming Suffragettes in America and Great Britain.

II

"GENTES APERIMUS EOAS"

Letter to *The Times*, 4th March, 1910.

The Maharaja of Burdwan "hits the right nail on the head" in saying, as reported the other day in *The Times*, that he was perplexed by the proposal of a Press Bill for India while newspapers from England, of the most sub-

versive proclivities, were conceded a free circulation throughout that country. The native Indian Press is an exotic institution, affecting only a cruelly denationalised and, in this sense, alienated class of Hindus, who know even less than ourselves the things that belong to the peace of their "Mother Land." What agitates the Hindus of any political instincts—the mercantile and the ruling castes—is the liberty of prophesying we permit to touring "Americans," and English demagogues in India, and the free circulation of English newspapers of the most outrageous truculence of language, whether published in this country or in India. But the evil effect of even such provocative examples was after all but as dust on the balances weighed against that of the uncalculating and wholly worthless English education given in the Government schools and colleges throughout India. The Bible, the masterpiece of English literature, and the bedrock of English character,—as modified by its Semitic leaven,—because it is regarded as "the Word of God," is rigorously excluded from the schools: while all the rest of our classical literature is indiscriminately admitted. A favourite piece for recitation in my time was Byron's "Curse of Minerva," with its amazing stanza:—

> "Look to the East where Ganges' swarthy race
> Shall shake your tyrant Empire to its base;
> Lo, there rebellion rears her ghastly head,
> And glares the Nemesis of native dead;
> Till Indus rolls a deep purpureal flood,
> And claims his long arrear of northern blood.
> So may ye perish! Pallas, when she gave
> Your free-born rights, forbade ye to enslave!"

Another was from Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope," with the climax of canto i.:—

> "To pour redress on India's injured realm
> The tenth Avatar comes! At Heaven's command
> Shall Saraswati wave her hallowed wand;
> And Camdeo bright, and Ganesa sublime,
> Shall bless with joy your own ['*swadeshi*'] propitious clime."

It is not only the official authority, but the intrinsic potency of such teaching that tells, and, I must insist, justifies the discontent of the English-educated natives of India ; and it is to suppress this reckless, feckless sort of School Board education, which is as the laying of gins and snares for the trapping of generous youths to their destruction, that the Government should pass an Act, rather than to handcuff the hobbledehoy native Press of India.

Fortunately it is not by the alien agencies of our English newspapers and State schools that disaffection can be fomented and insurrection instigated in India ; where when rebellion is really resolved on it is aroused altogether differently. There is no overt organisation, even no covert conspiracy, no corporate, and (unless the individual be taken *flagrante delicto*) no personal responsibility. A tree is daubed, a trumpet (*sankya*) sounded, and every wayfarer of the four "twice-born" castes takes up the sign, to bear it far and wide,—it may be but to the next grove of trees ; or on to the next temple, ten miles off ; or to some periodical religious fair in the great town 100 miles away ; or through the doubled length of some sacred river, the Ganges or the Nerbudda, 1000 miles distant. It is in connection with these pious wanderings that the warnings to prepare for insurgence against an obnoxious Government are most reproductively propagated. Some time between 1890 and 1900 I directed attention through the columns of *The Times* to the prophecy in the *Rewah Purana* of the shifting, about the year 1895, of the super-sanctity attached to the Ganges to the Nerbudda, and I suggested that the process was likely to be attended by considerable excitation among Hindus over all India. It is worth while reconsidering this obscure and curious prediction in connection with the present disquiets and disturbances there; and the possibility of the Mahrattas becoming involved in them as a nation, and the para-

mount nationality of the Deccan. For the Nerbudda is the traditionary boundary between the Deccan and Hindustan, and if the holiest fasts, festivals, ministrations, and other ordinal solemnities of Pan-Hinduism were to become centred in the Nerbudda, in place of the Ganges, augmented emoluments and endowments, as well as the higher spiritual authority, would at once be passed to the credit account of the Brahmans of Maharashtra ; while, gradually, the political prestige of the Princes of Maharashtra would be proportionally cuperated (Sanskrit *Kapatis*, "double-measure") throughout Southern India.

The prophecy of the *Rewah Purana* notwithstanding, the superior sanctity of the Ganges still holds good ; and the greatest of all Pan-Hindu pilgrimages is still the perambulation, or *pradakshana*, of the Ganges from its source near Gangotri to its debouche at Saugor Island, and back—a continuous sacrament of six years' duration ; the perambulation of the Nerbudda, or "Grace-giving" Narmada, from the harbour bar below Broach to its spring head in the pellucid pool on the Amarkantaka plateau and back, taking only one year to hymn and pray your way through it. None the less, the prophecy is proving to be true. Partly it is fulfilling itself; and partly it is becoming fulfilled by the transfer of much of the olden export and import traffic of the Ganges to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway,—and so from Calcutta to Bombay. The Brahmans of the Nerbudda, indeed, have never yielded to the claim of the superior sanctity of the Ganges. Their retort to it is similar to that of Naaman to Elisha : "Is not the strong and swift Narmada holier than all other streams of *Sri Bharata?*" And it is the fact that while bathing in the Ganges cleanses from sin, the mere sight of the Narmada has the same ineffable efficacy. And, most triumphant fact of all, the personified Ganges, the siren goddess Ganga, has herself to dip in the Narmada once a year to be throughly washed of her sins. You

may see her in vision mincing demurely up the right bank of the Sone (a contributary from the south to the Ganges) to the Amarkantaka "tank" as a young jet-black cow, and then blithely trotting back by the left bank a milk-white cow, comely and resplendent as the sculptor Myron's marble "heifer." When I left Bombay in 1869–70 the *pradakshana* of the Narmada was undertaken in any one year by from eight to ten Hindus from the Presidency. Now the number is from 800 to 1,000. Every temple, every shrine, every bathing-place on the river frontages is, in short, profusely profiting by the appropinquity of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

Let it not be presumed that because mercenary considerations are mixed up with these spiritual aspirations they are the less sincere. The spiritual sensibility of the Hindus is the quickest and the most impressive of any Aryan peoples, and the devotional literature inspired by it the most impassioned. Their whole being is sacramental, and the perambulation of their sacred rivers an uninterrupted rapture of praise and adoration.

Let us hope that while the *mahatmaya* of the Narmada may be magnified, that of the golden Ganges may never be minished; and that we English people, realising what these rivers of Paradise mean in the lives of 300,000,000 human souls, if we do not with this enlarged knowledge receive a new light into our own lives, we at least shall no longer continue to be for a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to them, whereby they shall stumble and fall and be broken, and be taken,—but for an unassailable and abiding sanctuary. "Religione vita constat," and to ignore it—that with Hindus, and that only,—"touches the Ark."

St. Margaret's Day, 1910.

III

Letter to *The Times*, 30th March, 1910.

I am being so questioned on my letter, "Gentes aperimus Eoas," in *The Times* of the 4th inst., that I am led to seek the opportunity of publishing through your columns the replies I have to make to my correspondents.

The proverbial "Seven Rivers" of India held exceptionally sacred are the vanishing Sarasvati, the Jumna, the Ganges, the Nerbudda, the Godavari, the Cauvery, and the Kumardhan; the Ganges being superlatively sacred above them all. But in India all rivers, and their waters, are sacred, and Ganga ("goer"), like Hindu or Sindhu ("water"), are names in wide use for any river—a fact that has contributed to the association, in mystical confluence, of so many Indian rivers with the sacrosanct Ganges. Again, all Indian rivers, of whatever sanctity, are especially sacred at their sources; at the places where they wear their way through rocky obstructions, or overleap them in a waterfall; in their permanent eddies; at their confluences with other rivers; in their reaches, and extended beaches, and any islets in their course; and at their debouches in the Indian Ocean, or Bay of Bengal. Thus in the course of the Ganges the most holy of its holy places are: Gangotri, near where is the snow-cave from out of which the drops of water dripping from the overhanging icicles ("the tangles of the Lord Siva's hair") first trickle into the light of day—although it is but one of a hundred similar sources of the Ganges, forming a sort of capillary network of flowing fountains in and about this region of the headsprings of the Ganges, the Jumna, and other Gangetic rivers; and Hardwar ("the door" or "pass" of the Lord Vishnu, in his name of Hari), whence the Ganga flows out clear of the Himalayas; and Allahabad, the Hindu Prayaga (literally, "junction"), where is its

confluence, or *sungam* (*σύγγαμος*), with the Jumna, or Yamuna, and (in pious fiction) with the lost Sarasvati, thus forming a triveṇi ("triplebraid") or thrice holy (*προφυλακτήριον*) confluence; and the incurved strand before Benares; and Ganga-Sagara ("Ganges-Ocean," *Anglicé* "Saugor"), the holy island at the Hugli debouche of the river, where at last, swollen, along an unbroken eastward flow of 1,600 miles, by a hundred tributaries, "the golden Ganges" of Apuleius, issuing by a hundred channels through the Sandarbunds ("Moon's forests"), commingles its majestic flood with the universal ocean stream.

Sanskritists say that there is no evidence of the superior sanctity of the Ganges in the Vedas; that there are intimations of it in the Hindu Epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana;* and that it became accepted in the period of the Puranas (A.D. 600 to 1600). But the fact that the Augustan poets of the Roman Empire, Virgil, Ovid, and the rest—who, I have always ventured to suggest, are "the Seven Gems" of the Hindu legends of the Court of King Vikramaditya—are so familiar with the "sevenfold Ganges," and know none other Eoan rivers but "the silent Ganges" and "the rapid Indus," is of itself proof of the pre-eminent reputation in which the Ganges was already held in the first century A.D.; and this proof is clinched by a passage in Lucan the Spaniard [iii. 292 *et seq.*] well worth giving here in full: "And the East itself is moved ['Movit et Eoos'] by the rumours of his wars [Cæsar's], where the Ganges is worshipped, sole [of all rivers] on Earth, so audacious as to debouch itself in the face of the rising sun." A century later, the African Apuleius, in the passage alluded to above [*Florida*, ii. 5] seems to have been equally impressed by the paramount position of the Ganges among the rivers of India.

> "Eois regnator aquis, in flumina centum
> Discurrit; centum valles illi, oraque centum,
> Oceanique fretis centeno jungitur amni."

Obviously the predetermining cause of the unrivalled veneration of the Ganga is its magnificent eastward sweep; and it must have been operative from the very first instant the Vedic Aryas, as unsophisticated worshippers of the rising sun, came upon the river at Prayaga, also called Triveni, or Tribeni. To this day the rubrics of the worship of Indian rivers direct you to bathe in them with their flow, and not against it; for it is with their flow that the sin from one's soul, like the soil from washed linen, is borne away into the overwhelming ocean's all-absolving, all-sanctifying world of waters. Sevenfold then would be the cleansing power, and sevenfold the renown of any river that courses on for ever in a straight current, as the Ganga does from Allahabad to Dacca and Calcutta, into the light and, as it were, the celestial precincts of the rising sun itself. Every morning, in an instant flash, the whole length of the river between these cities runs in molten gold; and the irradiancy of rose madder, and white, and lemon and chrome yellows, and black, and turquoise blue, from the moving processions of pilgrims and other worshippers ceaselessly passing between the gleaming river and its green banks is, for the brief hour the dews of the night lie unevaporated, that of the imagined plains of Heaven in mediæval Christian art.

In the vision of such a scene, one realises that although the sanctities of the Narmada and the Godavari are sure to be raised in the future with the growing material prosperity of India under the British Raj, the transcendent sanctity of the Ganga is never likely to be lowered; and this is what all devout English people should desire; since we seem incapable of our own initiative, or by our own direct administration, of doing anything to promote the spiritual joy of the peoples of India, for all the veritable miracles we have worked out for their temporal security, peace, and prosperity. Their joyous unity in the faith of their forefathers, and in their devotion to the wise

and wary hereditary guardians of it, is in truth the greatest political force in India, although at most times but a latent force, and omnipotent and irresistible, once it becomes nascent against a sacrilegious and execrated ruler. The whole existence of these peoples is sacramental. Even in lighting a casual fire by the wayside, if of wood, every stick is first sprinkled with holy water! In the perambulations of their rivers their daily life seems, as I have observed it, a continuous ecstasy; while the language of their chants and prayers, as they pass along the roads, or rest under some tree, or beside some temple, is ever that of "The Desire of St. Ignatius," attributed to St. Francis Xavier:—

> "O Deus ego amo Te.
> Nec amo Te ut salves me.
>
> . . . .
>
> Sed sicut Tu amasti me,
> Sic amo et amabo Te."

And again of the Seraphim worshipping in *Festus*:—

> "God! God! God!
> As flames in skies
> We burn and rise
> And lose ourselves in Thee;
> Years and years
> And nought appears
> Save God to be.
>
> . . . .
>
> Save God to love."

Or of the ecstatic ending of Miss Morrison's *Purpose of the Ages*:—

> "O River that makes glad the City of
> Our God! O Tree of Life whose leaves make whole
> The Nations [of *Sri Bharata*].
> O Holy Mountain, where nought hurts
> And nought destroys!
> Thy Kingdom come!
>
> . . . .
>
> Thou Love!
> All Love!"

These quotations are the closest translations I could give of some of the psalms and hymns and spiritual songs used by the Vaishnavas of Bombay in their devotional communions among themselves, "making melody in their hearts." It is a transfiguration for an Englishman to be among them and to hear them on such occasions. Imagine then the midsummer madness of teaching such people English out of Byron's "Curse of Minerva," and Campbell's rally of the gods of India against ourselves, when they would really delight in reading Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Imitation of Christ* in John Wesley's translations, and *The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi*, as translated by Mr. T. W. Arnold, the Educational Adviser for Indian Students.

Still, I admit the infinite pleasure of having now and again happened upon Indian gentlemen who, thoroughly educated as English "gentlemen and scholars," have remained devout Hindus—

"Skilled
To revive dead Lore, and magnify extinct
Arts, and extol Symbolic Wisdom"—

such men as were the late Dr. Bhau Daji and Rao Sahib Vishvanath N. Mandlik, of Bombay, my lifelong guides and faithful colleagues and unfailing friends.

St. Benedict's Day, 1910.

IV

"EST MODUS IN REBUS"

Letter to *The Times*, 31st October, 1913.

No one else having commented on the report in *The Times* of the 22nd inst. of the speech addressed by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State on the 20th inst. to the young English and Indian gentlemen about to go out to India in the various Civil Services of that country,

I hope I may be permitted to do so myself, as both for praise and blame it is one that ought not to be left unadjudicated.

It was the practice of the Honourable East India Company never to select and nominate for probation the applicants for their civil and military services without a complete knowledge of them, and of either their families or schoolmasters, and when at last he was found fully qualified for the service for which he had been selected and nominated, they systematically in every way reinforced their knowledge of their protégé by seeing as much as possible of him in their houses and in Leadenhall Street before he sailed for India ; the burden of all their advice to him being, that his first duty to India and the Company was diligently and sympathetically to study the manners, customs, religion, and history of the people of India. This was an incalculable help and support for all of us young fellows in those days, and a not less advantage to the Company, our patrons, for knowing us all intimately they knew how each one of us would act in any great emergency—a vital point in the case of their " Covenanted Civil Servants," and scarcely less momentous in that of their military officers ; and this was one of the reasons why throughout all 1857 there was never an instant of panic in Leadenhall Street. Again, when we ever came " home " on sick leave, or furlough, or retirement, it was our first duty, as clients of the Company, to call, and not merely report ourselves in Leadenhall Street, but to see, as an act of homage and personal gratitude, the several directors constituting " the Court " at the time.

On the sequestration of India to the Crown [1858] all this was changed. For some years, I believe, the practice was continued of receiving officers returning from India in Charles Street, Whitehall, but it soon fell into desuetude and oblivion. The change was dramatically marked when a most distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service,

a typical example of the English race, and Haileybury "gens," calling on retirement on the contemporary Secretary of State, after being formally received and most graciously bowed into a comfortable chair, was blandly asked : "And, Mr. X, have you ever been in India ?" "You may imagine," he said to me afterwards, "how it took all the conceit out of me, of my forty years' service, and splendid send-off from Bombay."

It is a matter of unqualified congratulation that the present Secretary of State has revived the practice of the Honourable East India Company ; and it is most devoutly to be hoped that he will gradually enlarge it to the full measure of the Company's *modus vivendi* with their servants. To this end the salaries of the members of Council should be materially increased instead of diminished, as they were some years ago. In particular, the salaries of the Indian members of Council ought to be greatly increased.[1] They make a cruel sacrifice in serving on the Council, for they have to keep up a house in India as well as in this country ; and on their present salaries they cannot possibly uphold their proper position here as, so far as India is concerned, virtual members of the Imperial Ministry, far less can they show the hospitality toward probationers for the Indian Civil Services it is so desirable, in the interests of India, that they should be enabled to extend to them.

Now for the blame of it ;—of that story of "the young subaltern, and his bottle of whisky and two bottles of soda-water, and packet of cigarettes," all buried in his sequestered grave to appease his manes. Without knowing the date of it, I cannot say whether it is possibly true or untrue ; but I knew something of the Malabar Coast

[1] This suggestion was adopted by Lord Crewe in framing his Council of India Bill, 1914, which proposed restitution of the original payment of £1,200 per annum, with an additional allowance of £600 per annum to the Indian members. These proposals were welcomed in the House of Lords debates (June 30 and July 7, 1914), when the Bill was rejected on general grounds.—Ed.

between 1854–5 and 1869–70, and I consider the traveller's tale told in the report of Lord Crewe's speech apocryphal. But that is not my point. In itself the story, as told privately to young gentlemen appointed to the Indian Civil Services, is harmless enough, and the blame lies in its publication ; for it quite unintentionally, I am fully aware, conveys to people, some thousands of miles away—and the most of them still orthodox Hindus, who see things, and hear things, and in every way regard things in a widely different idiom from our own—the double imputation to our Imperial officials in India of conduct not only unbecoming in them, but offensive to the people of India ; that is, let me repeat, to the orthodox Hindus ; for the Hindus of the Arya Samaj, and the Muslims, and the Parsis observe the same points of morality and honour as ourselves ; the Muslims holding Hebrews and Christians, equally with themselves, to be " Children of the Book," the heavenly source of both our Bible and their Koran. I need say nothing in defence of the sobriety of young educated Englishmen of all sorts and conditions serving in India ; for to-day the British Army and Navy, and the British police, etc., are recognised as most effective and beneficent schools of temperance in the matter of indulgence in strong drink, while the " Boy Scouts " movement is rapidly raising the standard of conduct generally among all classes of our people at home and in the Colonies.

Even if it were not so, no offence could be given in India among orthodox or heterodox Hindus, or to Muslims and Parsis, by our habit of drinking wine and brandy and whisky—Scotch or Irish. Every student of ethnology knows that the high spirituality of the religious conceptions of the Eastern peoples has been largely due to dreams, and the use, nay, the abuse, of intoxicating drugs and drinks, and that this is one of the explanations of the sacramental virtue imputed to intoxication in the earlier stages of the evolution of religions. Drunkenness was

regarded as a state of the complete freedom of the drunkard's spiritual self from the trammels of his material self; and the songs of the drunkard in his cups as of divine inspiration. Again, I once found that certain of my class students were members of a sect that regularly every lunar month, at full moon, visited a woman, whom they worshipped by feasting with her until they were all more or less inebriated, and then pouring wine on her;—and so through the whole ritual of the "celebration,"—recalling worship of "the Dindymenian Mother"; and the interpretation of it all given me was: "Were it not for women, there were no men; and if no men, no God: for God exists only in the conceptions of men";—these lunatical young men, and a moonstruck young woman! "Mystery of iniquity," the ignorant may cry out! Not a whit: it is a stage of spiritual evolution.

Then, turning to etymology, the Sanskrit word for wine is *sura* (compare the Arabic *sharab*, i.e. "sherbet"), from *su*, to distil, and cognate with *sara*, "essence," and *sava*, libation. Our beverage, "punch," resembling the πενταπλόα of the Greeks, is the Mahratta word *panch*, "five," and refers to the five ingredients of this glorious drink, first made known to this country by the H.E.I. Company's servants in Western India in the seventeenth century. In the name of the similar Scots beverage, whisky "toddy," the word "toddy" is a corruption of the Hindustani word *tari*, the wine of the coco-nut, date, and Borassus palms, the most rapidly acting and exalting of all wines; and our word "rack" is a corruption of the Arabic *arak*, "perspiration," applied by them to the spirit distilled from *tari*, wine or *sura*, the most foul and infernal of all native Indian spirits. Suradevi is the express "Wine Goddess" of the Hindus, and the name of Sarasvati, the Hindu "Goddess of Learning" and of Poetry, is translated by some as "the Goddess of 'flowing' water, and by others, of the 'flowing' wine." The

name of the Hindu "God of the Sun," Surya, is literally the Shiner, but would seem to be radically associated with *sura*. Shiva, in his name of Someshwara, is "the God of the Soma-wine." So of one dead the Hindus say :—

"He has drunk the Soma bright,
And has Immortal grown :
He has entered into Light,
And all the gods has known."

How different the religious and social idioms of the orthodox Hindus are from our own may be well understood from the fact that no high-caste Hindus, at least in my happy life with them, ever shook hands with an Englishman without afterwards undergoing ceremonial ablution.

So, whether it be "a Britisher" or a Hindu we wish to lecture on some point of etiquette or conduct, it is as well, so far as possible, to make it "a curtain lecture."

St. Evaristas' Day, 1913.

V

THE COLOUR BAR

Letter to *The Times*, 26 November, 1913.

Every Englishman who would "keep judgment and do righteousness" will have read with a lively sense of public gratitude the letter in *The Times* of this morning by Sir Francis Younghusband on the "untowardly turned" predicament of our loyal Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa.

I have for years past definitively sided with the Indians against the European colonisers of the Union, but only after the most deliberate consideration of the facts on both sides of the controversy between them. The Indians owe much to the latter for their holding and preparing South Africa for them against immigrant Hottentots from

Central Africa, whom Indians of the mercantile classes would of themselves be powerless to resist. But, on the other side of the account, the European colonists owe much to India, for making it possible for them to settle as traders and farmers in South Africa, through its service as an opportune " house of call " for the Dutch, and, later, our own " Indiamen " [all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and down to 1813 in the nineteenth century], freighted with the opulent traffic they carried on between India and Western Europe. It was this trade which, for us Englishmen, made not only the Cape Colony —as it had made Holland—but " the East End " and the greater part of " the West End " of London ; and also " the West End " of Edinburgh, and virtually the whole of Cheltenham and Bath and Clifton, and that, furthermore, enabled us to contend victoriously against the European coalition with which " Buonaparte " threatened our industrial ascendancy in the early part of the nineteenth century. To-day the peaceful possession of India is our chief stay in sustaining the preponderating productive power and maritime pre-eminence of these islands in the crushing commercial competition, marking with ever-increasing emphasis the unfolding years of the twentieth century.

The great error of the Indians in this controversy has been in their associating themselves, in any way, in South Africa, with the Hottentot Negroes, or " Blacks," from Central Africa, as in their complaint of " the colour bar " being placed against them by the European colonists. The Hindu caste-system is impregnably based on the principle of " the colour bar " ; and to the strict observance of it the Hindus wholly and solely owe the wonderful manner in which they have maintained the integrity of their democratic domestic, social, and communal life, and of their highly idiosyncratic literature, religion, and arts through all the political revolutions that ceaselessly devastated

and desolated their country during the millennium before the consolidation of "the British *Raj*," and the revindication of Aryan supremacy over the length and breadth of India in 1857.

The literary Hindu term for caste is *varna*, "colour," and for the four "twice-born" castes, *chatur* [cf. "quatuor"] —*varna*, "four-colours"; and these four castes are (1) the Brahmans, or sacerdotal caste, proceeding from the mouth of God, whose sacred thread is of cotton, twisted right-hand-ways, and whose staff is of the wood either of the Butea frondosa, or Ægle marmelos; (2) the Kshatriyas, or regal caste, from the arms of God, whose sacred thread is of hemp, and their staff of either Ficus indica, or Acacia catechu; (3) the Vaishyas, or caste of traders and farmers, from the thighs of God, whose sacred thread is of wool, and staff of Salvadora persica, or Ficus glomerata; and (4) the Sudras, or caste of servants of the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, from the feet of God. Countless admixtures of these four castes have arisen; all of them being disrated under the general head of *varna-sankara*, "colour mixtures," that is "mongrels"; with two great sub-divisions: (1) Analoma [compare λῶμα, "fringe," "border," and ἀνάλωμα, "loss," "destruction"], that is "mixed-hair," including all the descendants of a higher caste male, and lower caste female; and (2) Pratiloma, that is "Against-the-hair," or more intensely degraded mongrels, including all the descendants of a higher caste female, and a lower caste male. This is the general ground plan of the Hindu caste system,—still as binding on all Hindus as in the days of my childhood, and again of my earlier manhood in India. And so long as the Hindus hold to it, India will still be India; but from the day they break from it, there will be no more of India—India of the Hindus. That glorious peninsula will be degraded to the position of a bitter "East End" of the Anglo-Saxon Empire, as were Shadwell and Limehouse and Bermondsey,

of London, by the abolition of the Honourable East India Company, on September 1, 1858! My advice, therefore, to our loyal Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, has from the first consistently been to observe "the colour bar" there as scrupulously and religiously as in their own *Sri Bharata*, and its "heart of heart," *Aryavarta*. It is always a deadly error fighting a righteous fight on false pretences.

The popular Hindu word for caste[1] is *jati*, literally "to be born," with the imputation of being "well born"—that is, "Aryan-born"; and with this the inherent "right" of the born "to be well born"; whence the use in India of this word as a name for "choice" and "fragrant" flowers and fruits, *jati* being the Hindu name for Myristica moschata, and *jaiphal* of "nutmeg" itself. Our word "caste" is the Portuguese word *casta*, "chaste," "pure"; here meaning of "pure race," "blue blood," etc.

St. Catherine's Day, 1913.

[1] Hindu philosophy repudiates "caste," unfortunately as strongly, albeit only "philosophically," as the Christian Churches in India:—"Are not the 5 elements, one and the same element? And are not the 5 senses but modifications of one and the same sense ['feeling']? And is there any real difference in the distinctions made by the system of 'caste'?" I have heard that argument used by Hindus, who at one and the same time were practically the staunchest supporters of "caste." They knew that without "caste" there would be no more India—India of the Hindus. They count the colours also as 5; red, yellow or golden, green (including blue) black and white. Red, as with us, is their "Dominical" colour. One of their names for the alphabet is *varnamala*, literally, the "garland of colours."

THE CHRISTMAS TREE[1]

"The Tree of Life,
The middle tree, and highest there that grew."
MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 194, 195.

ONLY during the past fifty to sixty years has the fashion become prevalent in England of setting up "the Christmas Tree"[2] as a Yuletide decoration and most delightful vehicle for showering down gifts upon the young in connection with domestic and public popular celebrations of the joyous Christian Festival of the Nativity. It is said to have been introduced among us from Germany,[3] where it is regarded as indigenous; and is probably a survival of some observance connected with the pagan Saturnalia of the Winter Solstice, in supersession of which the Church, about the fifth century of our era, instituted Christmas Day. It has, indeed, been explained as being derived from the ancient Egyptian usage of decking houses at the time of the Winter Solstice with branches of the date palm, as the symbol of life triumphant over death, and therefore of perennial life in the renewal of each successive bounteous year; and the supporters of this suggestion point to the fact that pyramids of green paper, covered all over with wreaths and festoons of flowers, and

[1] In the original form this article was contributed to the first number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1886.—ED.

[2] Cassel, P., *Weihnachten, Ursprunge, Braüche u. Aberglauben*, Berlin, 1862, 8vo.

[3] It is said in Cassell's *Household Guide*, vol. i., p. 151, to have been first introduced into England in the household of George IV by a German servant of Queen Caroline's. Reference is also made in this work to a tree of gold, set before Henry VIII during some Christmas pageants at Richmond.

with strings of sweetmeats, and other presents for children, are often substituted in Germany for "the Christmas Tree."

Similar pyramids, together with similar trees—the latter usually altogether artificial, and often constructed of the costliest materials, even of gems and gold—are carried about at the marriage of Hindus in India, and in other of their religious processions, such as the "Hoolee" [*Huli*] or annual procession of the Vernal Equinox. These pyramids represent the Earth and Mount Meru, and the trees, the *Kalpadruma* or "Tree of Ages," and the fragrant *Parajita*, the "Tree of every Perfect Gift," growing on the slopes of Mount Meru; while in their enlarged significance they symbolise the constellated splendour of the outstretched spacious heavens, as of a tree deep-rooted in the earth, and laden with golden fruit. Both the pyramids and the trees are also phallic emblems of life—individual, and terrestrial, and celestial. Therefore, if a relationship exists between the Egyptian practice of hanging houses at the Winter Solstice with branches of the date palm, and the German, and now widespread English custom of using gift-bearing and brilliantly-illuminated evergreen trees (nearly always firs) as a Christmas decoration, it is most probably due to collateral rather than to direct descent; and this is indeed indicated by the fact of Egyptians having regarded the date palm as an emblem not only of immortality, but also of the starlit firmament on high.

The Hindus derive the origin of their race from Ida-varsha, the "Enclosure," or "Garden of Ida," the wife of Manu,[1] and the Mother of mankind. Here they place their Olympus, the fabulous Mount Meru, the centre and culminating point of the earth, and the support and pivot of the heavens. Its slopes collect the celestial Ganges, that is, the dews and rains of heaven, and run them off into the lake Manasasarovara, "the most excellent lake of the

[1] The "Thinker," i.e. Man.

Spirit." The terrestrial Ganges, having its reputed source in this lake, as it circles seven times round Mount Meru, forms the four lesser lakes wherefrom the four rivers of Idavarsha flow out into the four quarters of the world; and it is about the head fountains of these four rivers that the Hindus place the sacred *Kalpadruma* and *Parajita* trees already named. Mount Meru, regarded geographically, may be localised in the Himalayan regions about the Pamir steppe; but it is quite impossible to identify the *Kalpadruma* and *Parajita* trees with any known botanical species; and they are merely mythical "Trees of Life," the idea of them being inspired by the primitive worship of trees as phallic divinities.

The traditions of the ancient Persians[1] place the scene of the creation of man in the Aryana-Vaego. In the first Fargard of the *Vendidad*, it is the first-named of the sixteen good lands, said to have been created by Ormazd (Ahuramazda), and afterwards cursed by Ahriman (Angra Mainyu). In the second Fargard it is described as the country of the first man, "the fair Yima." Under his golden rule 300 winters passed away therein; when, being warned that it had become overfull of the blazing fires of human homes, and of herds and flocks, he, with the assistance of "the Genius of the Earth," extended its size to one-third more than it was at the first. Thus another 300 years passed away; whenafter he again enlarged it another third; and this process was again repeated, so that the Aryana-Vaego became double its original size. Then Ormazd called all the celestial gods together, and "the fair Yima" with them, and warned them that there were about to fall on the earth "the final winters" of fierce, foul frosts, with "snow fourteen fingers deep," before which all their flocks and herds would perish, alike

[1] *Sacred Books of the East,* edited by Professor Max Müller, vol. iv.; *The Zend-Avesta,* part i.; *The Vendidad,* translated by Professor James Darmesteter, Oxford, 1880.

those grazing over the open plains, and those browsing in the deep bosoms of the leafy dales, and those that stood sheltered within the stables of their homesteads. Therefore, Yima was directed to make a four-square *Vara*, or " Enclosure," two miles long on each side, and to bring into it "the seeds of men and women," "the bravest and best, and fairest on the earth," and " the seeds of fire," and of sheep and oxen and dogs ; and to settle them by the green banks of the fountains of living waters that sprang up within the *Vara*, and to establish therein this renewed dwelling-place of men. All this the fair Yima did ; and then he sealed up the *Vara* with a golden signet ring, and made a door to it, and a window, " self-shining within." None that was deformed, or diseased, or a lunatic, or that was imbecile, or impotent, or a liar, or that bore any of " the brands of Ahriman," might enter into it. And the men and women admitted within the *Vara*, lived the happiest life there, and they never died, but dwelt there for ever before the presence of the Eternal Glory.

In the *Zend-Avesta* references are also made to the Hara-Berezaiti, " the Heavenly Mountain " of Aryana-Vaego, whereupon the crystalline expanse of the heaven rests, and wherenigh the sun rises ; and to the bridge Kinvad, " the Straight " [*Sirat*], " The brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread," stretching from the Hara-Berezaiti over Hell to Heaven ; and to " the Tree of Healing and Immortality," " the White Homa [cf. Soma] Tree," called also Gaokerena, that grows by the Ardvisura fountain ; and to the two rivers, the Arvand and the Daitya, flowing from this source, and replenishing all the rivers and seas of the earth. According to the latter Pehlvi texts, on the White Homa Tree sits the Säena bird [cf. Simurg] and shakes down from it the seeds of life in man, and beasts and birds and fishes, and plants, which, as they fall, are at once seen by the bird Kamros, as it watches for them from the top of the Hara-Berezaiti mountain, and are carried off by it,

and scattered far and wide over the world. The tree is protected by ten fish-like monsters, having their dwelling in the Ardvisura lake.

In these details we have the same mixture of mythical and actual geography as in the Puranic descriptions of the Idavarsha. Thus the Aryana-Vaego, although it refers to the original starting-place of the Iranian Aryas in Central Asia, is also an ideal country, in some of its aspects an earthly Paradise, and in others an Elysium, ruled over by Yima; who, as the first of men to die, is also the personification of death. Among the Persians he always remained, even as Death, the first bright consummate flower of humanity gathered by the grave, the gentle King of the Sinless Dead; but in Hindu mythology he becomes deformed into the terrible Yama, the god of Judgment and Hell. The Aryana-Vaego, therefore, is at once the original seat of the Iranian Aryas in High Asia, the Elysium of their departed ancestors, and the legendary Eden of the Aryan, and, indeed, of all the Caucasian races. The White Homa tree has always been botanically identified with the *Sarcostemma vinimale*, or Soma plant; and I have always also included under it both the vine and the date palm;[1] but in its highest significance it is, like the *Kalpadruma* and *Parajita* trees, the poetical symbol of cosmical life.

The original Hara-Berezaiti, and the Arvand and Daitya rivers, must be identified with the Hindu Kush or Parapanisus range, and some of the streams flowing from it; but their names, like that of Mount Olympus, reappear again and again, variously modified, in the course of Aryan migration westward; that of the Arvand river being found as an appellation of the Elwand mountain, the Mount Orontes of classical geography, in Media, and of the River Orontes in Syria. The Hara-Berezaiti mountain, both in this primitive form of its name and the later form of Alborj, has undergone still more frequent displacements

[1] See "Aryan Flora and Fauna," pp. 144–58.

from east to west; its name having been successively attached to the Elburz mountains east of the Caspian Sea, to the Elburz mountains south thereof, and to the Elburz mountains of the Caucasus. In the Assyrian inscriptions it is attached, in the slightly altered form of Allabria, to the Gordyæan, or Kurdish mountains, and it is on the latter, under the name of Lubar, that St. Epiphanius places "Noah's Ark." The name of Baris, assigned by Nicholas Damascenus to Mount Masis [Aghridagh] in Armenia, usually identified by Christian writers with the *hara-Ararat* ["the mountain of Ararat"] of Genesis viii. 4, whereon Noah's Ark rested after the Deluge, is supposed to be a direct corruption of Berezaiti. This primitive Iranian name certainly appears almost unaltered in that of Mount Berecynthus in Phrygia, the abode of the Great Earth-Mother, Rhea-Cybele. And wherever it travelled and became fixed, there, we may be sure, was carried and planted the evergreen legend of "the Tree of Life."

The legends of the Norse people, or Aryas of Northern Europe, also point to the colossal semicircle of the Caucasian range, stretching from the confines of China to the shores of the Black Sea, and beyond them, until it ends at Cape Finisterre in Spain, and the Atlas Mountains of Morocco, as the earliest cradle[1] of the human race; for Börr, who in their primitive mythology is the common progenitor of gods and men, is but a personification of these mountains. As-gard, that is, "God's-ward," while mythologically the starry firmament ["flammantia mœnia mundi," "The Citadel of Chronos"], is geographically and historically Azov, "The Ward of the Asir." The Norse Olympus rises from the centre of Mid-gard, "The Middle-ward," the residence of mankind, separated by the circumfluent ocean stream from Ut-gard, "The Outer-ward" of the

[1] That is, earliest within the memory of man; for we must distinguish between the several historical Edens and the ethnographical centre, or centres, of the evolution of the human species.

Jotuns or "Giants." Below Mid-gard is the shadowy underground world of the dead, Niflheim. From the centre of Mid-gard, and the summit of As-gard, springs the "Ash tree," Yggdrasil, with branches spreading out over the whole earth, and reaching above the highest heavens, and three great roots going down into the lowest hell, where lies coiled round them the serpent Nidhögg, "The Gnawer," Death, who, like the serpent Anunta of the seventh Hell of the Hindus beneath Mount Meru, typifies not only death, but the subterranean volcanic forces whereby the destruction of the world itself is ever threatened. Here the Paradisaical Yggdrasil is transparently a symbol of the universal life and joy and glory of Nature.

The inhabitants of Mid-gard are said to have been created by Odin, and his brothers Wili and Wi, from two pieces of wood, one of ash and the other of elm; the first being changed into a man called Askär, i.e. Ash, and the second into a woman called Embla, i.e. Elm. It will be remembered that the Greeks derived "the third race of men," who may be identified with the Aryas of the Bronze Age of Europe,[1] "from the ash tree" [ἐκ μελιᾶν, Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 144]. They also made the Caucasus mountains "the midmost part of the earth," "the beginning and the end of all things" [Hesiod, *Theogony*, 738], the seat of the punishment of Prometheus, the son of Iapetus or Japheth, the mythical leader of the Aryan immigration into Europe.[2] Mount Olympus in Thessaly was the abode of the gods of Greece, according to Homer, and until the later poets translated them to the sky; but wherever the Greeks went they carried with them the

[1] "Their houses brass, of brass the warlike blade,
Iron was not yet known, in brass they trade."
Hesiod, *Works and Days*, translated by Cooke.

[2] Of course, Prometheus is a Sun-god also, and, therefore, naturally associated with the Caucasus mountains, as the starting-point, viewed from the West, of the sun's daily course round the globe.

name of this mountain, localising it in Bithynia, Mysia, Lycia, Lesbos, Thessaly, Elis, Laconia, and Cyprus ; thus also unconsciously associating the original habitat of their race with some alpine region at the initial point of the line of their exodus from the East.

The Semitic traditions[1] differ from the Aryan in distinguishing between the birthplace of the human race, *Gan-Eden*, "the Garden of Eden," and the mountain whereupon Noah's Ark, containing the forefathers of the renewed human race, rested after "the Deluge." Every tree pleasant to be seen and useful for food grew therein, and "the Tree of Life," and "the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil." It was watered by a river which, after flowing through Eden, was parted into four heads. There can be no question of Sir Henry Rawlinson's identification of the Eden of Genesis ii. with the *Gin-Dunish* of an inscription of Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus (*circa* 668–640 B.C.) ; that is, with the country surrounding the city of Babylon, watered by the Pallacopas [Pishon], Shat-el-Nil [Gihon], Tigris [Hiddekel], and Euphrates [Perath].[2] This district was familiarly known to the Babylonians as Gan-Dunias, "the garden of (the god) Dunias" ; and the city of Babylon itself was known also by the name of Dintira, or Tintira, "the Divine Tree" ; as the counterpart of the cosmic "Tree of Life," so often represented guarded by a cherub on either side on Babylonian gems and

[1] *Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible*, par F. Lenormant.

[2] It is deeply interesting to find that, just as the Hindus try to reproduce Mount Meru everywhere, and in almost everything, so the Jews would seem to have endeavoured to repeat the geography of the fabled Eden in the plan of the city of Jerusalem, regarded by them as the centre of the earth [Ezekiel v. 5]. The city was watered by four streams, one of which always continued to be called Gihon (1 Kings i. 33, 38], and they were reputed to issue, through underground channels, from the fountains of fresh water beneath the Temple, whereto the Jews attached the profoundest sanctity [Ezekiel xlvii. 1–12, Joel iii. 18, Zechariah xiii. 1 and xiv. 8]. This sacred spring was associated, like the mythical Ganges and Arvand and Daitya, with a mountain the Jews called Moriah, identified by Lenormant, following the generally hazardcus guidance of Wilford,

"the Nineveh marbles." Later, Rawlinson identified the special spot wherein the terrestrial site of "the Tree of Life" was originally localised with the town of Eridu, the oldest seat of the worship of the Akkadian earth-god Enki, the Assyro-Babylonian Hea.[1] Nevertheless it is evident that the Garden of Eden is also the same mythical Paradise as the Idavarsha of the Hindus, and the Aryana-Vaego of the Iranian Persians, and the Asgard of the Norse, but localised in Mesopotamia by the Semites (as long before them by the Hamitic race), after they had forgotten their primordial Caucasian home in High Asia, or preserved the memory of it only in the tradition of a fabulous garden watered by a heavenly fountain, the source of all earthly streams. Then, as the Semites over-

with Mount Meru. Milton includes an anonymous mountain in his description of the Garden of Eden, *Paradise Lost,* iv. 223–35 :—

> "Southward through Eden went a river large,
> Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill
> Passed underneath engulfed ; for God had thrown
> That mountain, as His garden mound high raised,
> Upon the rapid current, which through veins
> Of porous earth with kindly thirst updrawn,
> Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
> Watered the garden, thence united fell
> Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
> Which from his darksome passage now appears,
> And now divided into four main streams,
> Run diverse, wandering many a famous realm,
> And country, whereof here needs no account."

On this passage Bishop Newton observes :—"The river that watered the Garden of Eden was, we think, the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, and this river was parted into four main streams or rivers ; two above the garden—namely, Euphrates and Tigris, before they are joined—and two below the garden—namely, the Euphrates and Tigris, after they are united again." This is the very conclusion forced on us by modern topographical researches in Mesopotamia ; and that Newton should have so exactly anticipated them shows the great value of holding on hard by tradition in the investigation of such obscure questions of the archaic history of mankind.—*Paradise Lost,* Ed. 1749.

[1] The neighbourhood of Kurnah, at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates in the Shat-el-Arab, about 100 miles from the head of the Persian Gulf, has always been regarded by its present Arab inhabitants as the site of the terrestrial Paradise ; a remarkable proof of the credibility of the ethnical legends and historical traditions of the "immutable East."

spread Anterior Asia, and their survey of the countries surrounding them was enlarged, their conception of Gan-Eden was extended, like that of the Hindus of Meru, over the whole habitable world known to them, as encircled by the Oxus-Indus or Pishon, and the Nile-Indus or Gihon, and traversed by the Tigris and Euphrates.

Assyriological science—of which, in succession to its illustrious founder, Rawlinson, the Rev. Dr. Sayce, the brilliant Professor of Philology at Oxford, has long been the active exponent—has demonstrated in the fullest detail that the Biblical myth of Eden was borrowed from the cuneiform, brick-inscribed literature of the Akkads, or primitive Chaldæans, a Scythian or Turanian people allied to the modern Turks. These, if they were not the actual aborigines of Lower Mesopotamia, were the first to establish themselves in that country during the period of the universal preponderance of the Scythians in Anterior Asia, and to lay there the foundation of the characteristic Hamito-Semitic culture of the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, to which the nascent religion and arts of Europe are more directly, and far more intimately indebted than even to the civilisation of ancient Egypt. The Hebrews were probably vaguely acquainted with the myth from the time when "Abram" went forth from "Ur of the Chaldees," "to go into the land of Canaan"; and after the Captivity they must have become thoroughly familiarised with it.

Monotheism is, indeed, conjectured to have originated among the earlier Semitic immigrants into Chaldæa, who settled in the city of Eridu, whence it is supposed to have been communicated to the Iranian Aryas of Persia in the east; and is known to have been carried westward into Syria by the Jews, through the instrumentality of whose Sacred Scriptures it has become naturalised over all Christendom and throughout Islam. If, therefore, Eridu was the original seat in Mesopotamia of the monotheistic

sect of primitive Semites, their descendants, including the Hebrews, might well, for that reason alone, have for ever associated the place with the primæval Paradise of the human race.

But long anterior to the advent of the Semites in Eridu, it would seem to have been the centre of worship of the Akkadian earth-god Enki [Earth], called Hea by the Assyrians and Babylonians, who was also the double personification of the prehistoric introduction of civilisation into Mesopotamia, and of the sun in his southern course through the Indian Ocean; just as Dionysos, "the Assyrian stranger," is the double personification of the westward course of the sun, and of Phœnician commerce and Chaldæa-Assyrian civilisation, through the Mediterranean Sea. He was the great "deus averruncus" of the Chaldæans, who alone possessed the dread secret of the incommunicable name of "the great gods" of the seven planetary spheres, the mere threat of the utterance of whose name compelled the submission of the whole impious array of the demoniacal spirits of the underground world. As "Lord of the World" his wife is Davkina, a female deification of the earth; as "Lord of the Abyss [*absu*]," and the "Lord of Sailors," his wife is the goddess Bahu, i.e. Chaos [*bohu* of Genesis i.]; while as "Lord of the Great Land," i.e. Hades, the land of the dead, he is associated with the goddess Mylitta or Ishtar, under her chthonian title of Ninkegal. Like Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines, he is represented as a merman; and also as sailing with all "the great gods," in a glorious ark of cedar wood, over the black water of the traditional Deluge, a myth, as I believe, of the south-west monsoon of the Indian Ocean.

His attributes are the Arrow Head, symbolising the invention of cuneiform writing, ascribed to him; the Serpent, symbolising his general civilising influence, worshipped in the garden at Eridu in connection with "the Tree of Life"; and the Disc of fifty fiery spokes, ob-

viously derived from his character as a Sun-god; and recalling to mind the *chakra* of the Hindu gods, and "the flaming sword" of the Cherubim in the Biblical account of the Garden of Eden, "which turned every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life."

On the Assyrian sculptures the sacred Tree of Life is associated also with the symbols of Asshur, who gave his name to, or took it from Asshur, now Kilah Sherghat, the first capital of the Assyrians. He was originally no more than the eponymous progenitor of their race, the second son of Shem, but was afterwards identified by them with the supreme God Il [cf. *Allah*] of the Babylonians, and substituted for him as head of the official pantheon of Assyria. He is usually figured in the form either of the Winged Solar Disc [" the Sun of Righteousness with healing in his wings," Malachi iv. 2], or a Dove, the prolific white dove of Syria, a universally recognised symbol of the active or generative reproductive power of Nature; the Almighty being still believed throughout Anterior Asia to manifest Himself in the form of this bird.

Frequently the Sun Disc is represented as shining down upon, or the Dove [Hebrew *yonah* as in "Johna," and *tor*, cf. "tur-tur," from its "note"], as overshadowing, the *ashera* [" grove" of Old Testament, A.V.], or conventional representation of the Tree of Life; the Dove in this connection being supposed to typify Nana, Mylitta, or Ishtar, the common wife of all the Assyrian and Babylonian gods, rather than Sheruba, the shadowy special consort of Asshur. She was the only goddess known to the original Akkadians, their universal Earth-Mother, by whose divisional deification, and duodecimal distribution, the Assyrians and Babylonians, who were very uxorious in their notions, managed to provide a separate wife for each of their twelve greater gods.[1] But Nana always remained

[1] These "wives" are but poetical figures, images, "idols of the nation or tribe" of their worshippers, and simply signify the feminine force, or

among the pagan Semites of Anterior Asia the highest and only really individualised personification of the passive, or receptive reproductive power of Nature, into whom all the other goddesses, formed by the merely nominal reduplication of herself, are at once resolvable. She is regent of " the brilliant star " Venus, and, as her proper self, of the month Ululu—August–September—of which the Akkadian sign was the Virgin. Friday also, the seventh day of the Akkadian week, was especially sacred to her, and to marriage, over the rites of which she [cf. Lucina of Romans and Ilithyia of Greeks] presided ; wherefore the early Christians held this day of evil omen and accursed, a superstition still carefully observed among the seafaring populations of the Mediterranean, by whom, in archaic times, she was regarded as their " divinest patroness and midwife."

As the planet Venus appears sometimes as " the Morning Star," and sometimes as " the Evening Star," so Nana was correspondingly distinguished by the Assyrians as " Ishtar of Arbela," " the Goddess of War," and " Ishtar of Nineveh," " the Goddess of Love." In her chthonian aspects she is the Assyrian Allat [" Goddess "], after whom Queen Dido is called Elissa [Eliza]. Indeed, the story of Dido, whose sister Anna became deified among the Romans under the name of Anna Perenna,[1] is supposed to be a myth of the introduction of the worship of Venus into Italy. She is also the Arabian Venus, called by Herodotus Alitta and Alilat, and by the modern Arabians *al* Lat, who, with the goddesses *al* Uzza[2] [" the Mighty One "], and

energy [or *sakti* as the Hindus term their goddesses] of the gods. Compare Ausonius, *De Deis* :—

" Tum Iovis et Consi germanus, Tartareus Dis.
Et soror et conjux fratris, regina deum, Vis."

[1] Anna Purna [literally, " Full of food "] is one of the names of the Hindu Earth-Mother Parvati [literally, the " Mountaineer "], as the provider of food.

[2] Compare Uzziel [" The Mighty One of God "], the archangel, next in rank, in Semitic angelology, to Raphael.

Manat, "the three daughters of God," was worshipped in Arabia, before the time of Mahomet, under the various forms of graven images and phallic stones and trees; and it is not impossible that the *stambhas*, or inscribed "posts," presumptively of phallic origin, set up by the Buddhists in ancient India, and now represented by the *dipdans*, or "lustral" columns placed before Hindu temples, may have derived their more usual name of *lat*, "a pillar," from the Arabian goddess Alilat. The Muslims have always identified the phallic stone [*lingam*], destroyed by Mahmoud of Ghazni at Somnath, A.D. 1024, with the goddess Lat of Arabia.

In the East, Nana or Ishtar is again the Phœnician Astarte, the Canaanitish Ashtoreth, so often named in the Old Testament in connection with the *asherah* [in plural *asherim*], or conventional image of the Tree of Life, and the Atargatis of the Phœnicians, whose worship was diffused by them all over Asia Minor; where the priestesses who served her in her double capacity of "Goddess of War" and "Queen of Love," were the martial courtesans known to the Greeks as the mythical Amazons. Their name is usually said to be compounded of *a* privative and μαζός "the breast," because according to the professed explanation of this absurd etymology, they deprived themselves of the right breast that it might not interfere with the use of the bow. But more probably it was derived from the endearing Aramaic title of *Um* or *Umu*, given generally to the consorts of the Assyro-Babylonian gods, and particularly to Nana, or Ishtar, who was worshipped under this very appellation, as Um-Uruk, "the [chthonian] Mother of Uruk," at Erech, the great necropolis of Chaldæa, and in its Aryan [Iranian] form of Ma-bog, "Mother of the Gods," at Hierapolis, or Bambyce, now Balbec, in Syria; and again of simply Ma, "the Mother," at Komana in Cappadocia, and Pessinus in Phrygia. Her Amazons may be compared with the Ambubaiæ, or Syrian dancing

girls of the Roman circus, and with the Bayaderes or dancing girls of the sacred[1] Basvi, Bhavin, and Mahari castes in India, whose Amazonian character I pointed out in the official *Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Exhibition of* 1878.

About 500 B.C., Nana was introduced into the pantheon of the corrupted Zoroastrianism of Persia under the name of Thanata, Anæa, or Nanæa, the Anaitis of the Greeks; and the statue of her at Cnidos, by Praxiteles, was regarded by antiquity as the masterpiece of that sculptor. The eastward extension of her worship under the Achæmenian kings of Persia is indicated by such names of places as, for instance, of the Afghan town of Bebi-Nani, i.e. of "Our Lady Venus." We have a yet more interesting proof of the ancient prevalence of her worship in the West, in the Greek comedy of Νάννιον, by Eubulus [*circa* 37 B.C.], so called after its heroine, a courtesan; that is, in the original meaning of the word, a priestess of Nana. Nana, or Ishtar, was, in fact, the ubiquitous "Asiatic Goddess," the great "Dea Syria," "Dea Phrygia," "Pessinuntia," "Berecynthia," "Mater Dindymene," "Idæa Mater," and "Bona Dea," of the Greeks and Romans, called also Ops, and Rhea and Cybele[2]:—

> "Renown'd for fruite of famous progenie,
> Whose greatnes by the greatnes of none other,
> But by herselfe her equall match could see."

She is also historically identified with the Aphrodite of Paphos and of Cnidos, and the Artemis of Ephesus; while in certain of her aspects she would seem to resemble Athene. Her name of Rhea is said to be the Assyrian word *ri*, for her sacred number, 15: Cybele, I believe, means

[1] Not of the secular Ramjani, Kanchani, and Naikan classes. Cf. the *kedesah*, or "consecrated" and *zonah* of the ancient Semites, and ἱερόδουλος and πόρνη of the Greeks.

[2] "Mater cultrix Cybele" [Æneid, iii. 111]; "Alma Cybele" [ix. 220].
"Alma parens Idæa Deûm, cui Dindyma cordi,
Turrigeræque urbes, bijugique ad fræna leones" [Æneid, ix. 252–3].

simply "the Great" goddess [cf. *al Kabir*, "the Great," the thirty-seventh of the ninety-nine Muslim names of God]. The mysterious Cabeiri associated with her rites are, in my opinon, "the great gods" of the seven planetary spheres reduced to little talismanic figures [cf. *ναννιόν* and *nanus*], similar to those of the Dii Majorum Gentium and Dii Selecti, seen in any Hindu temple, set round the great image of the god or goddess to whom the temple is more particularly dedicated.

The most ancient representations of her are as a naked woman with a child in her arms, and it may be conjectured that the sublime vision in the Book of the Revelation [chap. xii.] of the woman clothed with the Sun and Moon, and crowned with the Twelve Stars—"the twelve [phallic] towers" [cf. *στοιχεῖα*, "uprights," "first principles"] of the Zodiac of the Arabs—was inspired by this conception of Ishtar as the divine harlot Mother of Nature. By the Phœnicians she was represented as a robed goddess, with four wings, and a conical, or a turreted, hat on her head, and generally with a dove, either held in her hand or perched on her shoulder. Sometimes she would appear, as in Arabia, to have been symbolised simply by the acacia tree, or by rude phallic stones; and, judging from my own observation in India, I have no doubt that such were the forms under which she, and Il, and Asshur, and the rest of the pagan Semitic pantheon, were first worshipped in Mesopotamia, and in which the conventional Tree of Life [*asherah*] of Chaldæo-Babylonian and Assyro-Phœnician religion and art originated.

Among all races religion,[1] as the sense of Divinity in Nature, exhibits itself in those degraded forms of polytheism that are generically described by ethnologists under the term of animism, or the worship of the telluric powers

[1] That is, religion in the sense of "relegens," fearing, reverencing, the gods; rather than of "religans," binding by creeds, rites, dogmas, customs, morals, etc.

of the upper [terrestrial] and lower [chthonian] earth; and it never rises above this low type of worship among races permanently arrested in their mental growth; although animism seems to possess in itself the power of indefinite development, being, indeed, the source of every known system of religion, whether polytheistical or monotheistical. Also within the proper limits of its arbitrary definition it assumes many shapes, such as fetichism, atavism, and phallicism. Fetichism is the worship by incantations, enchantments, and fairie (*fari*, to speak; *fatum*, the word spoken, fate), that is, by the intoning of magical formulæ, of any natural or artificial objects, under the conviction that the spirits imagined to inhabit them, or rather to be identified with them, can thereby be compelled to comply with the wishes of the worshipper. It is, strictly speaking, a system of sacramental conjuring, such as still flourishes among the Negroes of Africa, and the Mongols of North-Eastern Asia; and was the primitive religion of Chaldæa.

Atavism is the worship of ancestors, as illustrated by the worship of patriarchs, founders, and heroes (Euhemerism) by the Greeks; of the domestic Lar by the Romans; of the *pitris* and *prajapatis* [Penates, Patriique dii] of the Hindus; of the *teraphim* by the Hebrews [Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34, and elsewhere throughout the Old Testament]; and of *totems*, or representative family animals, by the Red Indians. At first atavism was, as it still remains among the Red Indians, a debased magical system of divination by means of visionary communion with the dead, or necromancy[1] specifically; but among the Aryas it gradually passed into a comparatively pure service rendered to graven and molten images, or idolatry proper; while among the Semites it became insensibly sublimed

[1] From the corrupt spelling of which word [compounded of νεκρός, a corpse, and μαντεία, prophetic power], as negromantia, we get, by translation, the phrase "black art."

into the most uncompromising spiritual monotheism. The name applied to the Deity by the Hebrews to distinguish Him, as the term *elohim*[1] [gods] could not, as the one true God, they never, within their historical memory, applied to any false god, During the period of their earlier kings they used it henotheistically,[2] and not absolutely monotheistically, but, after the Captivity, they held the name too sacred to utter, always substituting for it, when reading their Sacred Scriptures, the word *Adonai*, "The Lord." The "separating name," this terrible name of "Jehovah," would now appear to have been transmitted to them from that of the family *teraph*, or *totem*, of the tribe of Joseph, and the house of Moses. In many of the armorial bearings and charges of noble European families we have, on the other hand, examples of the survival of *totems* as mere heraldic marks. Phallicism, which grew up inevitably from fetichism and atavism, and is in many of its aspects identical with atavism, is the worship of the vital, active and passive procreative principles of Nature; under figures furnished by the rudest stones, by mountains and valleys, by trees, by serpents, by the sun, and by the poetical figment, common to all the Caucasian races, of the Tree of Life.

Among the Caucasian races, the low animist worship of the visible world was raised to the higher worship of Nature, in the two principal forms of (1) sabaism [from *saba*, "an host"—of heaven], or the worship of the seven

[1] Where in the English A.V. of the Bible the word God is used, the original Hebrew has *elohim*, "gods." This false translation, which is followed in the R.V., is excused on the pretence of *elohim* being the "plural of majesty"; an explanation utterly untenable, at least in all the earlier Biblical instances of the use of the word.

[2] A word, I believe, first used in Max Müller's *Hibbert Lecture*, compounded of ἑνός (genitive of εἷς), one, and Θεός, God, and signifying the worship of one god for oneself, without denying the validity of the god or gods worshipped by other nations. And it is clear that for a long time the Jews regarded *Javeh* simply as the God of Israel, in contradistinction to Moloch the abomination of the Ammonites, and Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians, and Chemosh, the obscene dread of Moab.

planets, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and the host of heaven generally, originating with the study of astronomy among the Hamites and Semites of Chaldæa, the special stronghold in ancient times, as China is in modern, of sabaism ; and (2) polytheism, or the worship of personifications of the phenomena of Nature, that is, of "many gods." The latter worship is specifically idolatry, or the sacramental dramatisation of Nature, and is the intuitive religion of the Aryan races. In the hymns of the Vedas, we see this polytheism passing from its simpler forms of direct worship of phenomena, to the deification of the very adjectives [on the principle of "nomen numen"] qualifying them. In the perfected polytheism of the Greeks, these deities, invested with all the thoughts, passions, and actions of human beings, are almost completely dissevered from the phenomena they impersonate, and by the virtue of the immortal beauty wherein they live and move and have their being in the poetry of Homer, and in the sculpture of Phidias and Praxiteles, they will remain divine for evermore.

Monotheism, the final and most elevated expression of natural religious feeling, is the worship of a universally postulated Supreme Being :—

> "Father of All ! in every age,
> In every clime, adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord."

The minds of individual men of exceptional powers of generalisation must, indeed, from the beginning, have been lighted up, as by a supernatural illumination, with some glimmering of the unity of the godhead. Polytheism, with its hierarchies of "gods many and lords many," of itself suggests the idea of some one superior god, to whom the rest are subordinate ; and, particularly, when characterised by the predominating worship of a Sun-god into whom, in every polytheistical system, all the other gods at last

become resolved, after the manner of the resolution of every female deity into one all-absorbing Earth-Mother. We are thus enabled largely to explain the inextricable mixture of monotheistic doctrines with even the most rudimentary forms of polytheism; and, in fact, the majority of polytheistical divinities are found to be co-extensive in their mythology with the entire range of the religious conceptions of mankind, being at once mere fetich stocks and stones, and astral and phenomenal impersonations, or idols, and more or less pure and beautiful symbols of the eternally self-existing First Cause of all things.

From this point of view, indeed, polytheism might well be regarded as a practical application of monotheism, if not a degradation from it; and as justifying, in some measure, the orthodox theological dogma of an original revelation of monotheism to mankind in the generations of Seth [Gen. iv. 26]. But modern ethnography has almost conclusively demonstrated that the human race, regarded collectively, has in reality been led very gradually through animism, sabaism, and polytheism up to monotheism. Judaism does not afford any exception to this law of Nature, for it was only through the most painful experiences, and by very slow degrees, that the Hebrews arrived at the conception of the spiritual nature of the godhead, and as a nation they do not appear to have completely attained to it until after "the Captivity." The existence of atavism among them, in the patriarchal age of their history, has already been alluded to; and, with other forms of animism, it continued to subsist, and indeed prevail, in both Judah and Israel to the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. When Jacob took the stone on which he slept on his way from Beersheba to Haran, and set it up on end for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it, and called it Beth-el, "the house of God," he performed a distinct act of phallic worship, such as may still be witnessed

every day, at every turn, in India; although in his case it may possibly have already been merging into the worship of the one true God. Seven hundred years later we find that Absalom, not having "a son to keep his name in remembrance," "reared up for himself a pillar which is in the King's dale" [*Shah-veh*], and called the pillar after his own name; just as to this day, in India, a wealthy Hindu, if certain of being sonless, will set up and endow a *lingam* named after himself, or his father, in perpetual witness of the family stock [*stirps*] and kin [*gens*].

Even Moses, the reputed author of the Decalogue, when the Israelites were plagued with fiery serpents in the wilderness, made a serpent of brass and put it upon a pole. It was a solar-phallic emblem, set upon a Priapian pole, a combination of symbols constantly occurring in the serpent-worship of India. Sometimes it is the image of the disc of the sun, featured after the face of man, that surmounts the supporting staff; and it was probably in such rude phallic posts and props [cf. *ἕρμα, κίων, στοιχεῖον*] that statuary everywhere originated. The "Serpent of Moses" was an object of worship at Jerusalem down to the eighth century B.C., when it was destroyed by King Hezekiah, who derided it under the nickname of Nehustan, that is "Brummagem." The Old Testament also bears witness to the enduring vitality of phallicism among the Hebrews in its frequent references to "high places," "groves" [*asherah*, pl. *asherim*, or conventional images of the Chaldæan Tree of Life], "oracles," and votive "pillars"; and, so late as the sixth century B.C., Ezekiel [xx. 28, 29] is found reproaching them for still presenting the provocation of their obscene offerings to "every high hill" and "all the thick trees."

Notable trees are always associated with the phallic pillars[1] and hills mentioned in the Bible, just as in all

[1] Compare collis, clumen, columen, and also the word columna as used by Martial, vi. 49. The Bible records no direct evidence of the worship

other records. Thus, Joshua [xxiv. 26] set up the stone which was to bear witness to the covenant between Israel and God [literally, " the gods "], under the famous oak at Shechem [Gen. xxxv. 4], to be known thereafter as " the oak of the pillar " [Judges ix. 6], and " the oak grove of enchantments " [Judges ix. 37, where the English text of the Authorised Version has " plain of Meoneim," and the margin " the regarders of times " and seasons, i.e. astrologers]. *Allah* is the Hebrew word in Joshua xxiv. 6, translated in the English Bible by " oak " ; and it is the same word as occurs in Joshua xix. 26, and is left untranslated in the A.V., as the name of a place, Alammelech, i.e. " The Royal Oaks." In Genesis xxxv. 4, the Hebrew word translated " oak " is *elah*, and it is rendered by " oak " also in Judges vi. 11, II. Samuel xviii. 14, I. Kings xiii. 14, I. Chronicles x. 12, and Ezekiel vi. 13 ; and by " elm " in Hosea iv. 13 ; by " teil tree " in Isaiah vi. 13 ; and by " plain " in Genesis xiii. 18. It is used also untranslated as a proper name : " Valley of Elah," in I. Samuel xvii. 2, 19, and xxi. 9. The word is everywhere supposed to mean the terebinth tree, and is so translated by the Septuagint. On the other hand, the Hebrew *allon* of Joshua xi. 16, translated by " plain," and of Genesis xxxv. 8, where it is translated by " oak," is like *allah* undoubtedly the oak ; and as the *allon* of Joshua xi. 16 would appear to refer to the same tree as is indicated by the Hebrew *elah* in Genesis xxxv. 4, great uncertainty is felt as to whether the oak or the terebinth is meant by the Hebrew word *elah* as it occurs in the Old Testament.

But the interesting point, never, I believe, before remarked upon by any English writer, is that all these words, *allah*, *elah*, and *allon*, and the other Hebrew words, *el*, *ilon*, and *elan*, translated in the English Bible (A.V.) by the

of trees in Old Testament times, but indirectly affords overwhelming evidence of it, and its universality. See besides the passages noted in the text—Jeremiah ii. 20, iii. 6, 13, xvii. 2 ; Ezekiel vi. 13, xx. 28, etc.

words "oak," "plain," and "tree," are all really one word, formed from the same root as the words *el*, *eloah* [Arabic *Allah*], "God," and *elohim*, "gods"; and it is just possible that, as used in the Bible, they are not meant (or were not originally) to distinguish the trees indicated by them botanically, but simply as holy objects, the groves of the autochthonous gods, and, indeed, the local gods themselves, the places where they grew up, and which became remarkable by their presence, and the centres of the phallic worship the broad shadows of these trees attracted; and thenceforward, in every country, the centres also of its special religious and artistic culture. This is probably how Hellenic culture grew up round the oak groves of the dale of Dodona, and in the shelter of the pine woods of Mount Olympus; and how the Seytho-Semitic civilisation of Chaldæa and Assyria and Babylonia had its beginnings at Eridu, under the date trees that still wave in perennial verdure over the Tigris and Euphrates at the auspicious confluence of these "waters of Babylon" in the Shat-el-Arab.

These date trees are the antitypes of the Akkadian mystical Tree of Life; and of all Paradisaical trees alike of Hindus, Persians, and Norsemen. In the famous bilingual, brick-inscribed text, from the library of Assurbanipal [Sardanapalus, *circa* 668–40 B.C.] at Kouyunjik, of the hymn on "The Seven Evil Spirits," the Akkadian and Assyrian words used to designate the Edenic tree of Eridu are translated [*Records of the Past*, ix. 1437] "dark pine" by Professor Sayce:—

"[In] Eridu a dark pine grew, in a holy place it was planted,
Its [crown] was white crystal which towards the deep spread.
The [a lacuna] of Hea [was] its pasturage in Eridu, a canal full [of waters].
Its seat [was] the [central] place of this earth,
Its shrine [was] the couch of [*the primæval*] mother Zicum.
The [a lacuna] of its holy house like a forest spread its shade; there was none who within entered not.

It was the seat of the mighty, the mother [Zicum], begetter of Anu.[1]
Within it [also was] Tammuz[2] [a lacuna] the universe [a lacuna]."

If the Akkadian and Assyrian names of the tree really mean "a dark pine," a very deep interest indeed attaches to them, as indicating that the Akkadians ["Mountaineers"] of Chaldæa still preserved among themselves the memory of a previous connection with some northern country to which coniferous trees were indigenous: for no species of them exists in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, where the date palm is, however, everywhere the most characteristic vegetable form. In Assyria, the oak, poplar, walnut, plane, and sumach are also found; but in Babylonia, if I may judge from the banks of the Shat-el-Arab, along which I botanised for more than a week in 1856, the only true native tree is the date palm; the occasional acacias, poplars, and tamarisks seen along with it being very dwarfed and scrubby. About Mohammerah and Bussorah [Basrah], half-way between the head of the Persian Gulf and the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates,[3] the date palm attains the noblest proportions, and occurs in dense groves extending for miles along both sides of the river. The intermediate glades of grass are all over enamelled with buttercups and deep blue pimpernels, a combination of temperate with tropical vegetation per-

[1] The Akkadian "Sky-god," and called "The Father of the Gods."

[2] Or Duzzi, "The Sun of Life," the Biblical [Ezekiel viii. 14] Tammuz:
"Thammuz yearly wounded,"
and the Adonis of the Greeks, who is torn away from Ishtar in the flower of his adolescence, and recovered by her from the gloom of Hades; as told in the Akkadian songs from the *Idzubar Legend*, entitled "The Descent of Ishtar." These "amorous ditties" are an obvious myth of the sun in his southern declination over the Indian Ocean, similar to the Deluge myth.

[3] The junction of the two rivers is more like a portage than a confluence, for it may be said to extend from Swaije on the west—in a prolonged reach of over 60 miles, almost coincident with the thirty-first parallel of northern latitude—due east to Kurnah; and this reach is the river "that went out of Eden to water the garden." Eridu may be identified with the present village of Abu-Shahrein, about 10 miles from the right bank of the Euphrates, south of Swaije.

fectly enchanting to the eye, and that transported me with the feeling of the ground whereon I stood being still as fresh and bright as when first planted by God, with what were, according to the Semitic legend, trees and herbs of heaven before they became trees and herbs of earth ; and indeed none other than "the Gate of Eden." In the enclosed gardens also were the fruits both of northern and southern climates, apples, and plums, together with pomegranates, oranges, and vines, the latter often trained up the stems of date palms, set in rows for the purpose. The vine does not ripen its clusters where the mean temperature of the year is higher than 84 degrees, and the date will not flourish where it sinks below 84 degrees, and it is remarkable that these conditions meet exactly in Palestine and Mesopotamia, the only two countries wherein the vine and the palm are found growing together in natural fruitfulness and luxuriance.

When we turn to the monuments of Babylonia and Assyria, it becomes perfectly clear that the Tree of Life, so universally adored, and, as I have elsewhere elaborately demonstrated,[1] so universally reproduced in decorative art from the remotest ages in the East, is nothing but the palm—

> "Encinctured with a twine of leaves,"

representing at once the Soma plant and the vine. Originally it was worshipped by the Turanian Akkads at Eridu, as a phallic symbol, the palm representing the male principle in nature, and "the fruitful vine," when trained round it, the female. Afterwards, during the time of Hamitic predominance in Chaldæa, a higher astronomical, or rather astrological, significance was given to it ; while, under the Semites, it became associated with Nana or Ishtar, the Ashtoreth of the Sidonians, and with Asshur, and, it may be presumed, also with the supreme deity of the Babylonians, Il [Hebrew *Eloah ;* Arabic, *Allah*] ; for

[1] See "Oriental Carpets," pp. 225–98.

Babil—" the Gate of God "—the Semitic name of Babylon, is said to be an idomatic translation of its Akkadian name, Ka-Tintira, Ka-Dingira, or Ka-Dimira, " the Gate of the Divine Tree."

Thus, even if it never really was a symbol of abstract deity, it was at once not only a phallic tree, but the mystic emblem of cosmical life, terrestrial and celestial, in man and beast and bird, and in trees and herbs, and in the sun and moon and five lesser planets, and the twelve constellations of the Zodiac, and all the hosts of the fixed stars, for ever shining beside the banks of the " Milky Way," the heavenly Euphrates [cf. Eridanus], after the similitude of the vine-clad palm of Hea, by the waters of Eridu. It is identical, historically, with " the Tree of Life," and " the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," of the Hebrew myth of Eden ; and it probably suggested " the Tree of Life," of St. John's vision [Rev. xxii. 2], " which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruits every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations " ; and which, whatever it may typify in the Apocalyptical sense, is a sublime poetical figure of the sun as " the giver of life," moving in his annual circuit through the twelve signs of the Zodiac. I believe also that the conventional Assyrian representations of " the Tree of Life " will be found to be directly connected with the Thyrsus of Bacchus, and the Maypole.

Canon Rawlinson, in *The Speaker's Commentary on the Bible* [vol. iii. 369], suggests the identification of Semele with a hypothetical female form of an obscure Assyrian god, Semel, whose name is said to occur several times in the Bible, in the original Hebrew, as in Deuteronomy iv. 16, where the English A.V. translates it " figure," and II. Kings xxi. 7 and Ezekiel viii. 3, 5, where it is translated " image," and II. Chronicles xxxiii. 7, where it is rendered " idol." Again, Professor Sayce, writing in the *Athenæum* of September 26th, 1885, of her identification as the wife of

Semel, as quite independently suggested by himself in the *Athenæum* of September 12th precedent, observes that she seems to have been the goddess of the grape, among some of the close neighbours[1] of the Assyrians, who was consumed by fierce heat of the sun in giving birth to the wine-god Dionysos. The etymological meaning of the word *semel* in Assyrian is really image, and Semel was probably a local rural deity, analogous to the classical Priapus, and worshipped with other divinities, into whom he would appear to have been rapidly absorbed, under the form of the *asherim*, or reduplicative images of "the Tree of Life" of Eridu.

It seems to me from the elaborations of the topography of Mount Meru by the Hindus, and of the Aryana-Vaego by the Iranian Persians, that they must have been in some degree directly suggested by the Chaldæan myth of Eden; but I do not think that there can be any direct connection between the latter and the Norse myth of Asgard. Still less is it probable that, even if the original Tree of Life of the Akkadians was "a dark pine," "the Christmas Tree" of the Germans and English was derived directly from it. The latter, one would presume to be rather connected with the Yggdrasil tree of the Norse myth, and to have been substituted for the ash at Christmas by the converted Germans, because its evergreen foliage made it a more appropriate winter decoration. At the same time, Professor Sayce's translation of the Akkadian verses on the Tree of Life does suggest that the custom of using pine trees in connection with religious observances may have been introduced from the beginning by some Aryan or Turanian tribe, coming into Europe direct from the Alpine regions of Asia, where pines constituted the principal vegetation. It must not be overlooked, in this connection,

[1] The original habitat of the vine is the slopes of the mountain ranges stretching from the Caspian Sea southward to the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, and in the Persian portion of this region its vernacular name is *divas*.

that Gothic architecture[1] has been as much influenced by the pine form as classical architecture by the palm form; the Ionic column in particular, and all that is Ionic in Greek architecture, being directly taken from the central conventionalised palm shaft, and circumferential trellis of vine leaves, of the Assyrian *asherim*, or images of the "Tree of Life."

The Turanian architecture of Buddhism, as represented more especially by the seven-roofed pagodas of Farther India and China, seems also as if it might have been suggested by different species of pine trees, as seen in silhouette; although their sacramental construction in seven stories betrays the direct inspiration received from Chaldæa, whence all the now world-wide ideas of the good and bad luck of certain numbers are derived; these ideas being originated in the astrological study by the priests of that country of the different numeral aspects of nature—such as day and night (2); heaven, earth, and the underworld (3); the four (4) quarters of the sky; the seven (7) planets; the twelve (12) signs of the Zodiac.[2]

For my own part, I was very early led to identify "the Christmas Tree" with "the Tree of Life," and chiefly from having been accustomed to entertain my native Indian friends, of all religions, on Christmas Day. I have always found them a good deal better Christians than myself; but, apart from that, I had to make my tree a symbol of universal charity and religious reconciliation, and of pan-Aryan brotherhood: and this is how I did it.

[1] The German Christmas *Baum-Kuchen*, or "tree-cakes," modelled after the fir tree, might be well synonymed "pagoda-cakes," so closely do they take the shape of Chinese pagodas.

[2] The most mystical of these numbers were, and, in India, still are, 3 and 7. Ausonius [*Griphus*, Idyll 11], running in 90 lines through the notable triplices of his date, begins:—

"Ter bibe, vel totiens ternos; sic mystica lex est,
Vel tria potanti, vel ter tria multiplicanti,"

and ends, line 88:—

"Ter bibe; tris numera super omnia; tris Deus Unus."

I placed some green bush on a mound, resting on a coiled serpent or dragon. The mound was Mount Meru, Hara-Berezaiti, Olympus, Asgard, the anonymous Akkadian mountain of Paradise, Mount Moriah—the world itself. At the top of the tree I fixed the symbol of the universal empire of Christianity, wherefrom flowed down all over the tree seven differently-coloured streamers symbolising the seven Christian virtues. Next in order came representations, in their proper colours, of the seven planets :[1] Saturn, black ; Jupiter, orange ; Mars, red ; the Sun, gold ; Venus, "Neapolitan yellow" ; Mercury, blue ; and the Moon, silver. Outside these I arranged the circle of the Zodiac, the six signs representing obsolete southern winter, or monsoon suns, viz. the Bull, the Crab, the Virgin, the Scorpion, the Goat, and the Fish, in frosted silver ; and the six signs representing obsolete northern summer suns, viz. the Ram, the Twins (i.e. sun and moon), the Lion, the Scales, the Archer, and the Water-bearer, all in burnished gold. Then succeeded the Vedic Hindu gods, the Greek gods, and the Egyptian and Assyro-Babylonian gods, the tree itself representing the Turanian phallic symbols. The tree was also loaded with fragments of all the noblest products of the earth, and with gifts,

[1] This is the order and colouring of the planets by the Chaldæans, who were the inventors of the days of the week. It has always puzzled people that the Chaldæan order of the planets—which is the natural one on the supposition that the earth is the centre of the solar system—being as here given, the order of the days of the week should be so different. The explanation has been preserved in India. Not only each day of the week, but every hour of each day was, and in astrology still is, sacred to one of the above planets. Well, beginning with Saturday, the first day of the Chaldæan week, its first, eighth, fifteenth and twenty-second hours are each dedicated to Saturn, the twenty-third hour to Jupiter, the twenty-fourth to Mars, and the first hour of the following day to the Sun, and, therefore, the second day of the week is Sunday. Proceeding in the same way, the third day is Monday, the fourth Tuesday, the fifth Wednesday, the sixth Thursday, and the seventh Friday. The Jews, to separate themselves from the surrounding Gentiles, made Sunday the first day of the week, keeping Saturday as their Sabbath, while the Christians, in commemoration of the resurrection of our Saviour, made their Sabbath on Sunday.

and illuminated with 84 [$7 \times 12 = 84$] lights, representing the hosts of heaven in their 84[1] constellations. Returning again to earth, I there set a group illustrating the terrestrial scene of the Nativity ; while, from under the mound supporting the tree, issued four silver-blue ribbons to the four corners, or four sides of the table, whichever corresponded with the four cardinal points, representing the four rivers of Paradise. Before it stood, not the Cherubim barring the way to the Tree, but the familiar image of Father Christmas, welcoming all to it. Beneath all was spread a sheet, patched, like " the ancient " of the P. and O. Company, of red, yellow, blue, and white, the Hindu coloration of, respectively, the East, South, West, and North [sometimes rendered in black], " imagined corners " of the Earth and Space ; the Hindus, as Sun worshippers,[2] taking the four quarters of the compass in this circular, right-hand order, and not in the cruciate order adopted throughout " Christendy." And we English still in the ritual of " the sacring " of our Sovereigns, still take the four quarters of the compass in the order of " Heathenesse " !

This symbolism can be made of the simplest and cheapest materials, or the costliest, and in either is equally interest-

[1] In India, where everything in heaven has its duplicate on earth, the rural villages have been popularly arranged from the very earliest traditions of the people in groups of eighty-four [*chaurasi*], similar to our " hundreds," a very plain indication of a primitive connection between Chaldæa and India. See Edward Thomas in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia,* new edition, part i., " Ancient Indian Weights," p. 20 (Trübner).

[2] Most solemnising is the simple Hindu worship [" ad galli cantum," and " matutinus "] of sun-rise—as also of sun-set [" ad incensum lucernæ"], but I never saw a temple in Western India that appeared to be oriented intentionally. They all seemed to face East, South, West, and even the North indifferently. But when a temple happened to face the East, and being well open to the East, the suddenness, due to the short twilight of India, of the up-spring of the sun, and the impact of its beams on the shrine, flashing like shafts winged from the golden bow of the god, Surya, of " the thousand-rayed quiver," the effect was dramatically moving, and only passed off as with the rapidly spreading illumination of the whole heavens one's feelings and thoughts relapsed into their preoccupations under " the light of common day."

ing: for, thus constructed, the Christmas Tree is no longer an accidental, almost chaotic decoration, but is instinct with meaning, understanded at a glance. The spectacle was a little shocking at first to the orthodox. But its charity is not strained. It is not only a tree of reconciliation, but an object-lesson in mythology, and in the history of the evolution of religious ideas, learned at once, and then accepted ungrudgingly. The effect on my Indian friends was always electrical. They experienced an intellectual sympathy with Christianity they never knew before; and when at parting I presented them with a duly "teinded" Yule log, to carry away with them wherever they went, the Promethean seed of fire, as the living symbol of pan-Aryan unity, I knew they had spent with me one of the very happiest days of their lives.

Primitive Christianity did not hesitate to accept not merely the symbolism, but even the teaching of the heathenism in the midst of which it gradually assumed its present ecclesiastical organisations. Those, of course, who regard the dogmatic creeds of Christendom as of divine revelation, in the narrower technical sense of the word, explain those obligations of ecclesiastical Christianity to paganism, more especially to that of ancient Chaldæa and Egypt, by the assumption of a primitive revelation, wherefrom mankind at once fell away, and whereto they had to be brought back by renewed special revelations. But those who see in "the faith once delivered to the saints" the results of historical evolution, or divine revelation in the proper sense of the phrase, will recognise in the cosmological fables and dark moral parables of the demonolatrous Akkadian "psalmists" the first half-articulated religious conceptions to which our technical theology, as authoritatively codified by the Catholic Roman Church, has merely given the more definite and precise expression dictated at different dates by the circumstances determinative of the successive steps of the whole

course of the civilisation of the Old World throughout the past four thousand years.

> " As little children lisp, and tell of heaven,
> So thoughts beyond their thought to those high bards were given."

Christianity is essentially a chastening and redeeming influence, inherently as independent of forms and dogmas as it is reverently observant of all such as can be used for working out the spiritual salvation of the world ; and before a fixed organisation was imposed on it, and extraneous events brought it into deadly conflict with imperial Rome, and infected it with a self-protective leaven of exclusiveness, it associated itself, with the large-hearted freedom prompted by an intuitive sense of its catholic truth, with whatsoever was intrinsically honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, or of any virtue and praise, not merely in the latent doctrines, but also in the open, palpable iconography of the surrounding heathen, giving to these beautiful " spoils of Satan," as Keble, unconsciously plagiarising the language of Akkadian dualism, terms them, their highest significance :—

> " And these are ours : Thy partial grace
> The tempting treasure lends :
> These relics of a guilty race
> Are forfeit to Thy friends :
> What seem'd an idol hymn, now breathes of Thee,
> Turn'd by Faith's ear to some celestial melody."

The select races of mankind would probably have risen, each independently, in the fullness of time, from the lowest to the highest forms of religion ; but the advancement of the historical Caucasian races from fetichism, atavism, and phallicism, to sabaism and polytheism, and again, through the idolatrous worship of the sun, as " the Ancient [" Ensign "] of days," to monotheism, was actually due to the direct reciprocation of religious ideas between them in the course of that cosmopolitan commerce of antiquity

of which the countries of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean were the perennial fresh springs, and Egypt and Mesopotamia the head centres of exchange. The widespread comparison of religious ideas thus induced resulted everywhere in a large absorption of countless local deities into each other, and a further consolidation of a selection from them into colleges of governing gods under the presidency of one of their number, who was regarded as above the rest. Thus, it was the worship of Bel, or Baal, the predominant national god, under varying forms and names, of the Semites of Anterior Asia, that immediately led to the gradually-perfected conception among all the Caucasian races, Aryan as well as Semitic, of one universally supreme God, to the express [literally "squeezed out"] exclusion of every other god. The commerce established between Chaldæa and the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean Sea about 2000 B.C., a date closely corresponding with that more precisely assigned by Rabbinical chronology to "the Call of Abraham" [1921 B.C.], and which became more and more intimate in the course of every century, from about 700 B.C. down to the dissolution of the Western Roman and the Persian Empires, generated more especially during the latter period those humanising conceptions of the parental relations of God with men to which the teaching of the Gospels of the New Testament gives the highest contemporary, and—if we may judge from its still unspent and unabated force—their final expression.

This latter trade, as organised by Psammetichus I, in Egypt, and by Nebuchadnezzar the Great, in Babylonia, the far-reaching effects whereof were already realised by the writer of the Book of Daniel, as he witnessed its widespread operation in the second century B.C.,[1] successively

[1] Antiochus Epiphanes, against whom the Book of Daniel is directed under guise of an attack on Nebuchadnezzar, reigned 175–164 B.C., and the trade of which its author was the eye-witness is, as prophetically seen in

accomplished its inevitable moral consequences in every country embraced by it, until about the Christian Era there seemed the possibility, but for adverse circumstances that subsequently supervened, of the whole world of antiquity becoming of one cosmopolitan religion, based on a common faith in the Fatherhood of God. In India, Hinduism became internationalised as Buddhism, and Judaism as Christianity in Syria and Egypt, while in Europe classical paganism seemed also on the point of becoming transformed, through neo-Platonism, into the purest of all forms of Christianity. But then followed the overthrow of Rome and of Persia—catastrophes that gradually broke up, and in the end entirely destroyed, for three hundred years, the immemorial overland commerce between the East and the West. The East being thus, at the most critical period of its Hellenisation, cut off from the West, India rapidly relapsed into the strictest form of national and exclusive Hinduism ; and the diffused humanitarian Judaism of Anterior Asia became differentiated, as Mahometanism, from the specific type it had already assumed in the dogmatic Christianity of Europe, and permanently established itself wherever, in Asia and Africa, the vitalising Hellenic element was either deficient, as in Syria and Egypt and Persia, or altogether wanting, as in Arabia and Turkestan—inaccessible regions that to the last will remain the most formidable refuges of Islam.

European Christianity, unfortunately, through the accident of the impatience of some of its early converts of the military discipline of Rome, was at its beginning placed in opposition to the general philosophical, literary, artistic, and scientific culture of the Gentile world, and thence-

its spiritual results, "the fifth kingdom" of Nebuchadnezzar's dream [ch. ii.], and the "kingdom of the saints" of Daniel's own dream [ch. iii.]; by the saints being meant the highly idealised Jewish supercargoes, brokers, and commission agents, and capitalists, into whose hands the inspired pamphleteer saw the whole contemporary commerce of the Babylonians daily passing.

forward in more or less marked antagonism also to the modern secular life of the West.

Happily, in India there is no gulf fixed in the popular belief between heaven and earth ; and the Brahmanical religious life has never sundered itself from the daily working life of the laity, but is a component part of it, and indissolubly bound up with it ; and we may, therefore, hope that in India, under the *Pax Britannica*, Christianity, whether taught by missionaries of the churches, or, more consistently with itself, through the administration of equal laws, and the public and private example of our righteous dealing, will have the exceptional opportunity of drawing an ancient people into its fold, by its unstrained spiritual influences, illumining in them what is dark, raising what is low, and supporting and confirming all their higher ideals of duty and amenity :—all without desecration or defamation of their traditional beliefs and worship, or the substitution of a foreign social system and ecclesiastical organisation for their own indigenous and sacrosanct family, municipal and national institutions ; indeed, without involving any breach in the continuity of their civilisation, or any dislocation of the relations between their priesthood and themselves, such as has for a thousand years overshadowed and embittered, where it has not altogether blighted—as in Spain—and perverted—as in France and England—the progress of the West.

Thus India, the inviolable sanctuary of archaic Aryan civilisation, may yet be destined to prepare the way for the reconciliation of Christianity with the world, and through the practical identification of the spiritual with the temporal life, to hasten the period of that third step forward in the moral development of humanity, when there will be no divisions of race, or creed, or class, or nationality, between men, by whatsoever name they may be called, for they will all be one in the acknowledgment of their

common Brotherhood, with the same reality, and sense of consequent responsibility, with which, two thousand years ago, they recognised the Fatherhood of God, and, again, two thousand years before that an exceptionally endowed tribe of Semites, in the very heart of Anterior Asia, formulated for all men, and for all time, the inspiring and elevating doctrine of His Unity.[1]

[1] Psalms lxxi. [lxxii.] vv. 18 and 19: "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui facit mirabilia solus," and lxxxvii. [lxxxviii.], v. 17: "Et sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos," etc.

"What though they come with Scroll and Pen,
And grave as a shaven Clerk;
By this Sign shall ye know them,
That they Ruin and make Dark.

"By God and Man dishonoured,
By Death and Life made vain,
Know ye the old Barbarian,
The Barbarian come again.

"In what wise Men shall smite him,
Or the Cross stand up again,
Or Charity and Chivalry
My vision sayeth not; and I see
No more."

G. K. Chesterton, *The Ballad of the White Horse.*

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